

DOCTORAL THESIS

A critical study of internationalisation in the public universities in Ghana

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Award date:
2014

Awarding institution:
University of Roehampton

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**A CRITICAL STUDY OF INTERNATIONALISATION IN THE PUBLIC
UNIVERSITIES IN GHANA**

By

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of PhD

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MARCH 2014

ABSTRACT

This research critically examines the perceptions, rationales, strategies and challenges of internationalisation at the public universities in Ghana. The study contributes to the available literature on Ghanaian higher education and internationalisation in the public universities.

The research was a qualitative study and the conceptual framework was informed by postcolonial theory. The theory helped to address major questions in higher education including the infiltration of neoliberal ideas, inequalities and exclusions, and the perpetuation of colonial legacies in international discourse.

Three public universities were purposely selected as case studies; respondents were administrators, deans, heads of departments, academics, and students from these selected universities. Personnel from the supervisory bodies of higher education in Ghana were also interviewed. Data gathering included interviews, documentary analyses and observations, and analysed using content and discourse analyses.

The findings indicate that internationalisation is perceived as an important concept in the universities in the study. There are, however, dominant discourses and views of internationalisation that seem to be rooted in colonialism and the marginalisation of Indigenous Knowledge Systems. I argue that the global influences of capitalism underlie many of the strategies of the universities. Though the meanings, rationales and strategies of internationalisation are similar in all the universities, there are different nuances in the various institutions' thinking and approach.

In spite of their efforts, the universities in the study are confronted with a lot of challenges which limit their ability to offer an alternative to the dominant internationalisation discourse. I argue, however, that internationalisation is a problematic concept which should be engaged with critically; there is a need for a critical orientation to

internationalisation that appreciates and emphasises difference, and which enriches the educational experiences of students.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I must first and foremost thank the Lord Almighty for seeing me through the years I devoted to this thesis. I would be stating the obvious if I mention that it has not been an easy journey. His Grace, however, has been sufficient for me.

I also thank my family who always understood my circumstances as a “student”. They offered me great support, hope and encouragement.

My gratitude to my supervisors, Professors Penny Jane Burke and Suzy Harris, cannot be overemphasized. I thank them immensely for their encouragement, support and analytical and insightful critique and suggestions on this work. They stretched my thinking and reflectivity to an important level. I equally thank Dr Kate Hoskins of the Centre for Educational Research in Equalities, Policy and Pedagogy (CEREPP), University of Roehampton, for her very helpful suggestions and comments on this work.

My immense appreciation also goes to Dr Ignatius Peprah. He always had enough time to read through my scripts. His suggestions and especially criticisms encouraged me to be more determined to push this work forward. I also recognise and appreciate Dr Wilson Yahoh of the Department of African Studies at the University of Cape Coast for his immense support and encouragement when I was doing the fieldwork.

I cannot end without thanking all my respondents who gave me much data to work with, and to all theorists and writers whose ideas encouraged me to think critically about the data and themes of this research. And last, but not the least, to my friends, colleagues and all others who helped in diverse ways to make this work a success, I say a big thank you.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ADEA	Association for the Development of Education in Africa
AAU	Association of African Universities
AGI	Association of Ghana Industries
AIDS	Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
AU	African Union
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
CDHEA	Conference on the Development of Higher Education in Africa
DIIS	Danish Institute for International Studies
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
EDA	Education for All
ESP	Educational Strategic Plan
EdSeP	Ghana's Education Sector Project
EU	European Union
EUA	European University Association
EUROGAP	European Good Agricultural Practices
GDN	Global Development Network
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GETFund	Ghana Education Trust Fund

GOG	Government of Ghana
GPRS	Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy
GSGDA	Ghana Shared Growth and Development Agenda
GSS	Ghana Statistical Service
HERANA	Higher Education Research and Advocacy Network of Africa
HIPC	Highly Indebted Poor Countries
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
ICT	Information and Communications Technology
IEASA	International Education Association of South Africa
IGF	Internally Generated Fund
IKS	Indigenous Knowledge Systems
IIEP	International Institute for Educational Planning
IMF	International Monetary Fund
MBA	Masters in Business Administration
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MOE	Ministry of Education
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding
MPA	Masters in Public Administration
NAB	National Accreditation Board
NCHE	National Council for Higher Education

NCTE	National Council for Tertiary Education
NDC	National Democratic Congress
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
NLC	National Liberation Council
NPP	National Patriotic Party
NUFFIC	Netherlands Organisation for International Cooperation
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
PGM	Post Genetically Modified
PNC	People's National Convention
PNDC	Provisional National Defence Council
PNDCL	Provisional National Defence Council Law
PP	Progress Party
SAFE	Sasakawa Fund for Extension Education
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programmes
SEPs	Supervised Enterprise Projects
SMC	Supreme Military Council
TALIF	Teaching and Learning Innovation Fund
TEP	Tertiary Education Framework
TTFPP	Third Trimester Field Practical Programme
UNDESD	United Nations Decade of Education for Sustainable Development

UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNISA	University of South Africa
URC	University Rationalization Committee
WACCI	West Africa Centre for Crop Improvement
WB	World Bank

CHAPTER ONE

UNDERSTANDING INTERNATIONALISATION IN GHANAIAN PUBLIC UNIVERSITIES

Introduction

This chapter provides the contextual background and explains the research questions, objectives and relevance of the study; it comprises four sections. In the first section I discuss the research questions, objectives, and significance of the research. The second presents my personal experiences and encounters that influenced this study. The third section discusses the global, national and institutional contexts of the research, whilst the last section presents the organisation of the remaining chapters.

The problem statement

A major goal of public universities in Ghana, determined by the various national educational reforms, strategies and policies over the years, is to be able to position themselves in the international arena. Recently, the importance of being internationally acclaimed has increased with references in university documents to the need to become world class, and the importance of internationalisation.

Internationalisation as a concept, however, is bedevilled with various challenges. It is interpreted and used differently across countries and by different stakeholders, and this, Knight argues, limits the development of a conceptual framework (2004). Again, internationalisation impacts differently on different countries, depending on many factors including the historical, the economic and the socio-political positioning of the country (Ibid). Postcolonial theorists and many other writers have expressed concern about the negative impacts of globalisation, internationalisation and neoliberalism on ex-colonial countries (for example, Fanon, 2004; Hardt and Negri, 2000; Rizvi *et. al.*, 2006).

According to Rizvi *et. al.* (2006) such contemporary happenings tend to perpetuate colonial legacies including inequalities and dependency on the West. According to the writers, there is the need to interpret these concepts historically rather than as a set of natural, decontextualised occurrences.

I argue that exploring the concept of internationalisation and its processes in the public universities in Ghana, and the kinds of tensions that may be generated by external and local needs, is essential in order to understand more fully the current position of public universities in Ghana. My thinking has been influenced by postcolonial theory. Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffen (2002) use the term ‘post colonisation’ to refer to all the cultures affected by colonisation from the time of its practice to the present. Postcolonialism enables contemporary happenings to be viewed with a colonial lens. It is ‘used extensively in a wide variety of ways to ‘name’ the residual, persistent and on-going effects of European colonization... it suggests ways of resisting colonial power in order to forge a more socially just world order’ (Rizvi *et. al.*, 2006: 249).

Using postcolonial theory, this study seeks to investigate the concept of internationalisation and its processes at the public universities in Ghana. It is particularly concerned with taking a critical look at how the internationalisation processes influence curriculum development in the universities.

The research questions

The research questions that have guided this study are: How do Ghanaian public universities conceptualise internationalisation and what are the rationales underlying the internationalisation processes in the universities? Do the universities have internationalisation strategies and if so, who are involved? To what extent has internationalisation impacted on the curriculum of the universities? What are the strengths,

challenges and opportunities of the universities in their internationalisation agenda? What is the way forward?

Objectives of the study

The objectives of the study were to explore the local, national and international socio-economic and political factors that influence public universities in Ghana. It sought to analyse how Ghanaian public universities conceptualise internationalisation and to identify the rationales for internationalisation, the internationalisation strategies, the key actors of these strategies, and the way forward. It also aimed to examine how the internationalisation processes impact on curriculum and identify the strengths, challenges and opportunities of internationalisation processes of the universities studied.

The study also offers some understanding of the perceptions of staff and students on the concept of Africanisation, the rationale underlying the application of this concept in the universities as well as the strategies.

Significance of the study

There is a substantial body of Western literature that considers the impact on higher education of internationalisation and globalisation (De Wit, 2010; Frolich, Nicoline and Viega, 2005; Harris, 2011, 2008, 2007). This study contributes to the available literature on higher education in Ghana.

In Ghana, various efforts have been made to provide education that will meet the desired needs of the country but literature and policy documents suggest little has been achieved (Tonah, 2009; Government White paper on Educational Reforms, 2007). The challenges include financial challenges, limited government policies and commitment and what initially could be attributed to political instability, as well as the ubiquitous foreign presence.

The study will provide findings that may be able to inform policy decisions of the government, the institutions and donor agencies in relation to internationalisation and content of programmes offered in the Ghanaian universities.

Origin of the study and its wider implications

My interest and passion for this research stems from personal experiences and encounters rather than a solely theoretical interest. It is these personal experiences that I now turn to. The first is related to issues of postcolonial legacies and the concept of Africanisation.

In 2008, I accidentally tuned in to a local radio station in Ghana. On the programme was a man vividly discussing the assumptions and beliefs underpinning thoughts and daily practices of many Ghanaians. Listening to the man was quite shocking to me, but to some extent, humorous. What I listened to set me thinking, reflecting and asking questions about my own beliefs, practices and assumptions. These practices and beliefs range from simple daily routines to programmes and processes of teaching in the universities. For example, why would I apply chemicals on my woollen hair in order to have silky hair? Why should another person apply chemicals to change his/her skin colour from black to fair? And why should it become a taboo for children to speak local languages at home and at school? I also reflected on why institutions, including universities, should emphasise mainly western contexts and contents, theories, and philosophies.

The answers to these questions appear to be straightforward. We are attracted more to Western knowledge and belief systems, and in a way regard them as superior. There is a saying in Twi, the major local language in Ghana which states that, ‘se woreko asore na wohunu oburoni a, sani wakyi, efise wahu Nyame, which translates into English as, ‘When you are going to church and you meet a Whiteman or Woman, return home because it is God you have met’. Many Ghanaians refer to someone they love and cherish so much as

‘me broni’ which literally means ‘My Whiteman or Whitewoman’. In fact, one of my godmothers, presently, always refers to me as ‘me broni’.

Having listened to the radio programme, I realised I learnt much, and developed much confidence as a person. Later, after coming into contact with other people who had listened to the programme, I realised that the programme had indeed caused some level of reflections about the assumptions underpinning many Ghanaian practices and beliefs.

What was surprising, in my reflections, was that this man engaging the Ghanaian public on such ‘a taken for granted’ topic was not an academic or public figure, but a radio presenter. I began to think what the impact could be, should universities decide to take on the role of addressing many of the legacies of colonisation. I began to reflect about my educational experiences at all levels of the educational ladder. It could be reasonably said that the educational institutions I had participated in or encountered contributed to confirm these practices and thoughts. The institutional culture, programmes offered and the general academic and non-academic conditions in the institutions, mostly, reflected colonial and Western ideologies.

At university in particular, almost every textbook and journal I read as a student was written by a non-African and in a non-African context. Every theory I studied in my subject areas (Educational Psychology and Educational Administration for Bachelor’s and Master’s degrees, respectively) was western-based. This experience confirms what Wiredu (1984), a Ghanaian Professor of Philosophy, said that students in African universities seem to learn about all the western philosophies but barely anything about African philosophies. According to him, it is hardly known if African philosophers even exist.

I realised much of what was written especially in the textbooks, seemed so foreign that it was not surprising that, as students, what many of us did was what was jokingly

referred to as, “chew, pour, pass and forget.” This phrase means that you just have to cram what are in the textbooks; produce what you cram verbatim during quizzes, tests and examinations; pass; and forget what you have learnt. Many of the lecturers did not appear to have much problem with this type of learning since many of them equally used a similar process when they were studying. In fact, in both my experiences as a student and a lecturer, there have been complaints that lecturers mark down students who try to read and present something different from what the lecturer has given in class.

Again, I reflected on the effects of such a superficial and instrumental process of learning. I realised that the inability of students to relate contextually to what they study stifles reflective reading and critical analyses on which innovation, initiative and creativity could be built. Students rarely are encouraged to subject what they read to debate, critical analyses or reflective thinking. The purpose of studying is seen merely to pass and be able to acquire jobs. Education seems to be purely used as a means for upward social mobility and status. In ‘Changing the Subject: Western knowledge and the question of difference’, Seth (2010) considers and shares his concern about debates surrounding the introduction and impact of western education in India. Similar to what is happening in Ghana, with the content and context of many of the textbooks being so foreign, many Indian students also resort to uncritical reproduction of what is in the textbooks. Education is perceived mainly in instrumental terms, denying students of the critical reflection they are supposed to have. Such a perception, I argue, could also be linked to the needs and drivers of the labour market economy in the neoliberal world. Presently as explained in detail in chapter three, and as indicated by many authors including Harris (2007), Torres and Jones (2013) and Desjardins (2013), knowledge has been reduced to serve primarily economic needs and purposes. The value of knowledge for its own sake has been de-emphasised.

I embarked on my PhD programme at the University of Roehampton. As an international research student, my experiences and reflections were broadened. As part of

my initial readings, I was required to write a paper on the historical development of universities in Africa. I began reading scholarly works on the effects and impact of colonisation on Africans. Many of the readings reflect what Mudimbe indicated when he said that ‘colonists...as well as the colonialists...have all tended to organise and transform non-European areas into fundamentally European constructs’ (1988: 1). Such a transformation has been possible due to what he refers to as ‘three complementary hypothesis or actions’: ‘the domination of physical space, the reformation of native’s minds and the integration of local economic histories into Western perspectives’ (Ibid). Mudimbe also cites Bigo who indicates that not only do the ‘dominant countries’ impose their lifestyles and modes of thinking on the ‘dominated nation’, ‘they are accepted, even sought after’ by those perceived to be dominated (1974: 23).

I also read the efforts of nationalists, academics, and policymakers, among others, to address these post-colonial legacies (for example, UNESCO, 1962; Nkrumah, 1964). In the early 1960s, the goal of higher education in Africa, understandably, was to ensure sustained socio-economic, cultural and political development of the continent (UNESCO, 1962). Many African countries had just gained independence from colonial rule and a major goal of the universities was to develop the human resources for the various sectors of the economy (Lulat, 2005). The universities were also to undertake intensive research to address the developmental needs of the country. Other goals included fostering unity among the different tribes and also fostering good relations with industry and government. Emphasis was therefore placed on comprehensive ways to adapt the curriculum of higher education to the developmental needs of Africa (UNESCO, 1962). To this end, much emphasis was placed on equipping students to understand their socio-economic and cultural environment so as to contribute meaningfully to it. According to the report:

No African intellectual, however, can assume his responsibilities towards his own society without the essential knowledge that allows him to understand and appreciate the basic needs of his fellow countrymen (Chapt. 5: 5).

In addition, the universities were to encourage the public to have broad knowledge, appreciate and have pride and confidence in African culture, history and values (Ibid). Such a mandate was to be achieved through activities including the development of archives, libraries, museums and art galleries, and also through exhibitions, cultural fairs, drama and musical performances, as well as through the media. These roles were to help revive the African culture which had been submerged in the colonial era. There was the need to develop in the people African culture and identity. The assumption was that equipping the citizenry to appreciate their cultural heritage will inculcate certain virtues like unity and peace which would enhance socio-economic development of the nation. As Horsthemke (2004) points out, Africa cannot be reduced to a homogenous continent with generalised knowledge systems and practices. However, as indicated by Metz, in responding to criticisms on his advocating for a ‘distinctively African’ moral theory, some beliefs, practices and philosophies are common among the people of Sub-Sahara Africa, and more dominant in Sub-Saharan Africa than in ‘Anglo-American and Continental philosophies (Metz, 2007: 375). Again, with the historical experiences and effects of colonisation, many African countries tend to share similar social, economic, political and cultural contexts (Lulat, 2005). In relation to the colonial experiences, the development of higher education in many Africa countries in the Sub Sahara, had similar characteristics including the roles, challenges and expectations of higher education institutions. Details of development of higher education are discussed in chapter two.

Kwame Nkrumah, the first President of Ghana instituted various socio-cultural, economic and political strategies and policies to mitigate some of the negative effects of

colonialism. For instance, he strove to turn Ghana into an industrialised country to reduce the dependency of the country on Western Societies (Biney, 2011). He established various institutions including the Arts Council of Ghana to promote traditional arts. When the Council failed to live up to its expectations, he replaced it with the Institute of Arts and Culture. This Institute had broader roles and they were to enhance African culture, including drumming, dancing, drama and literature in the schools (Ibid). Kwame Nkrumah aimed to Africanise the content and aims of education at all levels of the educational ladder but this was opposed by the existing universities: University of Ghana and University of Science and Technology (Botwe-Asamoah, 2005). He decreed that English language should not be used as the only criteria for gaining admission to secondary school. However, according to Botwe-Asamoah, a Professor in the African Studies Department at the University of Pittsburgh and the African Studies department at the University of Ghana, the intellectual community accused Nkrumah of trying to lower the educational standards of Ghana by not making the English language compulsory. Nkrumah made efforts to launch the Encyclopaedia Africana which was to buttress the achievement of political independence in Ghana and ‘to expose to the world the bases of her [Ghana] rich culture and civilisation ... ’ (1964). He also promoted culture through his dressing. He mostly wore African traditional clothing like the ‘Kente’ cloth or the Smock of the Northern region of Ghana and mostly used the white handkerchief which reflected traditional practises of some Ghanaian traditional chiefs (Biney, 2011).

As I read, I was introduced to certain pre-colonial, cultural, educational, socio-economic systems which portrayed Africa as a continent with a rich past (Ajayi, *et.al.*, 1996; Cowan *et. al.*, 1965; Nkrumah, 1964). I tried to tell the ‘good news’ about Africa’s ‘past glory’ to my friends. I realised that almost all the friends I talked to reacted similarly. Initially, they expressed disbelief at what I told them, then they expressed a sense of despondency and feelings of frustration, ‘even if what you are saying is true, what can we

do about this? It will be difficult for anything good to come from Africa'. After this initial reaction, they became very interested in issues related to Africa, and became bitter at the impact of colonisation and present global issues that seem to limit the general development of Africa. The reactions of my colleagues confirmed the need to emphasise Ghanaian history and knowledge systems.

In relation to my PhD programme, I was cautioned by a friend to be wary of any interest in African Indigenous knowledge systems as it is not recognised in the global arena. Another asked, 'who is interested in issues related to Africa'? He cautioned me that even if I have a successful PhD programme, I could never be a Professor because nobody would be prepared to sponsor me. Others told me I may be victimised by Western supervisors and probably the University. I discussed with one of my supervisors my uncertainties about this African aspect of my topic. She urged me on, encouraged me not to stop but to note such comments down and reflect on them later. She also urged me to ask questions and challenge the hegemony of Western ideas. I still felt uncertain, and scared of how people would react, now not Westerners, but Africans.

The final set of experiences involved experiences with my non-African colleagues. I was surprised when during lunch time at one of the academic conferences, a male white colleague, just told me 'Gifty, we want to hear about Africa from Africans. Again, once after a presentation of my thesis proposal in one of the MA Research Method classes, another white colleague asked if we could meet and discuss some issues about Africa (unfortunately, we did not keep in touch on the issue so we could not meet). At another time I made a presentation on Dipo, a traditional puberty rite organised for girls by the Krobos¹ in Ghana. Many students and the lecturer were interested. The lecturer asked if I could give a presentation to one of the undergraduate classes. These experiences indicate that many or some Westerners are interested in African culture. As a student from Africa, I

¹ The *krobos* are people of the *Krobo* ethnic group in the Eastern region of Ghana

thought no one would be interested to know anything about Ghana as most of us, the indigenes, do not seem to really care.

These experiences with my Western colleagues reminded me of what Kwame Nkrumah (1964) said at the opening session of the first meeting of the Editorial Board of *Encyclopaedia Africana*. In his speech, he mentioned George W. Ellis, an Afro-American who served from 1901 to 1910 as Secretary of the United States diplomatic mission in Liberia. Ellis indicated in the preface of a book he wrote, that he read a lot about Africa before he took an appointment in Liberia. He came to Africa, however, only to realise that many of the things he read were not correct. In the preface to his book, 'Negro Culture in West Africa' (1914), Ellis, according to Kwame Nkrumah, wrote that:

It seems more necessary and imperative that the African should explain his own culture, and interpret his own thought and soul life, if the complete truth is to be given to the other races of the earth.

Increasingly, I have asked myself why after so many years of seeming efforts, the Universities, policy makers and governments are unable to address the impact of colonialism. As I indicated previously, most Africans seem to perceive every thought and action in the framework of the West and many African universities continue to teach mainly foreign concepts. In many universities, such programmes like philosophy, languages, law and agricultural systems related to Africa, are yet to be introduced (Brock-Utne, 1999). Departments of 'English' and not 'literature' dominate universities in Africa. Further reading led me to more complex historical, global, national and local contextual issues which appear to limit the efforts especially of the universities in Africa, to embark on certain lines of thoughts and practices. These contextual issues are discussed in detail in later chapters. In the next session, I provide short discussions of the global and national contexts aimed to give a broader understanding of the research. Some of the issues

discussed include global discourses and debates on globalisation and internationalisation, and the type of curriculum required in higher education. I also raise some questions on these issues and their wider implications. I argue in agreement with many writers and postcolonial theorists that many discourses on internationalisation tend to perpetuate colonial tendencies in many African countries and institutions. I then discuss briefly the efforts of universities in Ghana to address both their local and national needs and the concerns expressed by the public including the academics and policy makers of the inability of the universities to satisfy national needs.

A global context

As indicated earlier, many writers have written about the impact of globalisation, neoliberalisation, and internationalisation, on higher education in different national contexts (Altbach and Knight, 2007; De Wit, 2011; Harris, 2011). For example, Altbach and Knight define globalisation as ‘the economic, political, and societal forces pushing 21st century higher education toward greater international involvement’ (2007: 290). Neoliberalisation is also defined as a theory of political and economic practices that propose that human wellbeing can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterised by strong private property rights, free market and free trade. The role of the state is to create and preserve an institutional framework appropriate to such practices (Harvey, 2005). Further discussions will be made of these concepts in Chapter three. However, in the context of globalisation and neoliberal ideas, one feature of higher education policy across national governments has been the importance attached to ‘internationalisation’.

Altbach and Knight (2007) perceive internationalisation as including the strategies and practices that individuals, academic systems and institutions undertake to address the challenges of the 21st century. According to Altbach, Reisberg and Rumbley (2009) although universities have always been affected by internationalisation, occurrences in the

21st century have magnified its importance. These occurrences include the dominance of the English language globally, market imperatives (Harris, 2008, 2011; Harvey, 2005) and enhanced information and communication technologies which Harvey perceives as creating ‘time space compression’ (2005: 4). There is also the concentration of ownership of publications, databases, and other vital resources in the privy of the ‘strongest universities’ located almost exclusively in the developed world (Altbach, Reisberg and Rumbley 2009: 7).

Issues of the curriculum

Internationalisation agendas are now an important aspect of many national governments’ higher education policy, primarily because of the marketisation of education in a global economy. This economic and instrumental perception of knowledge, as indicated above, is discussed in detail in chapter three. The emphasis on knowledge as a commodity to be bought and sold as in the market place, has now generated challenging issues as to the type of knowledge to be produced in universities. At a Ministerial meeting of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), it was indicated that ‘a longer-term challenge facing all countries is in producing the right skills mix not only for the present but also for the future needs of dynamic labour markets’ (OECD, 2011: 11). Young people for instance need skills to manage ‘change and uncertainties’ as a result of the high possibility of changing jobs in the present economic crises (Ibid: 13). There is also the need for ‘occupation specific and general skills’ (Ibid).

Griffin (1997) also argues that globalisation of capital, the spread of neoliberal thinking, the emergence of the ‘knowledge economy’ and the internationalisation agenda, seem to have generated many tensions and questions as to the sort of knowledge that should be offered in the university. The magnitude of these tensions is such that some people perceive them as ‘a crisis arguably more serious than those of finance, organisation

and structure' (Ibid: 3). Bridges (2000) adds that the confusion over the type of knowledge is reflected in the myriad of 'appropriate' words to use to qualify the type of skills needed in this era. As he indicates, the desired skills have 'variously been identified as transferable skills, cross-curricular skills, core skills and key skills, a groping after language which reflects the conceptual mud in which the debate has been bogged down for over a decade' (2000: 44).

Some have also advocated a market-driven curriculum as the engine to achieve competitive edge and profits (for example, Ackers, 1997). Ackers acknowledges that in higher education curricula, 'we must be mindful of the need to satisfy our customers' and that to attract this 'invaluable resource' we must 'improve the affordability ... awareness...and quality of the product' (1997: 188)².

The expectations of the universities to develop such skills in students have developed critical sentiments from other schools of thought which think such ideas undermine the role of universities (Bridges, 2000, Harris, 2011, 2008). According to Bridges (2000) the emphasis on employment skills 'shifts the balance from understanding to skill, from knowing that to knowing how'. Harris (2011) has also emphasised that education is supposed to enhance the ability to make informed decisions and sound judgement. In spite of these critiques, it seems the wave is moving more towards the instrumental perception of knowledge and what Harris terms as 'neoliberal universities' (2008: 347). Knowledge has been reduced to 'what can be measured and standardised' (Harris, 2011: 95). In a global context, it is difficult for universities in Africa to emphasise indigenous knowledge systems. This is because, these knowledge systems do not appear to

² The National Committee of Enquiry into Higher Education in the UK identified four 'key skills' as 'relevant throughout life' (1997: 17, 25). These skills are communication skills, numeracy, the use of information technology and learning to learn. Beside these basic skills, the Committee decided that the main emphasis should be on skills that are relevant to employment because, 'learning should be increasingly responsive to employment needs and include the development of general skills, widely valued in employment' (National Committee of Enquiry into Higher Education, 1997:1).

have relevance or value in a globalised world and universities in Africa cannot risk being left outside the ‘global village’. In the end, they also have to compete in a system designed by Western capitalist economies.

The questions and wider implications

A core function of the Association of African Universities, of which almost all universities in sub-Saharan Africa are members, including the public Universities in Ghana, is to emphasise and promote collaboration among African higher educational institutions and institutions abroad. The Association has adopted the theme for its present Core Programme as, “Renewing and Networking African Higher Education Institutions to Meet Local and Regional Challenges”. This theme indicates the determination of the Association to emphasise networking in the international community. It is hoped that enhancing internationalisation will boost the competitive edge of the universities (Ajayi, *et. al.*, 1996; Mbeki, 2005). The universities have also been charged to make Africa a respected member of the world community of nations (Mbeki, 2005).

For example, in the opening address of the 16th Annual Meeting of the International Education Association of South Africa (IEASA) with the theme ‘Promoting Higher Education Internationalisation through International Research Collaboration, Partnerships and Innovative Teaching’ the Vice Chancellor of the University of Cape Town expressed a concern that many institutions in Africa share. He said:

I have to say that the one thing that keeps me awake is the concern, as a leader in an institution of higher education, that we are not really keeping up with the developments in internationalisation ...that we may be doing our institutions a disservice in the long term by not really understanding the way that the game is changing, the way that the higher education game is changing as a result of

internationalisation, and that we will wake up five years later and discover that we've missed the train, that the train has left the station (Max Price, 2012).

The emphasis of internationalisation and collaboration in most cases also means accepting international standards and expectations. Many questions, however, arise in the effort of the universities in following 'international standards'. Some of the questions, in the context of the above observations by Price, are: 'who is playing what game?', 'how is the game changing?' and 'who is changing the game'? And of course, 'who is in charge of the game'? In other words, the questions to be asked are 'whose standards are considered international standards'? Whose standards are considered the best? What is meant by quality? What is meant by relevant knowledge? And how are local problems being constructed and defined and by whom?

It does not take much reflection to realise, as indicated in the Ghanaian context above, that problems in many African countries are different from those of countries in the developed world. It appears, however, that international standards are standards set mostly by Western advanced societies (Brook-Utne, 2002, Bhabha, 2004; Young, 2003). In this context, an obvious but relevant question is how will African universities achieve the 'standards' given the state of lack of resources and dependency of these institutions?

Negotiating the terrain

At the International Forum on Higher Education Reform, Foresight 2020 – Dubrovnik, 27 - 29 September 2010, participants acknowledged that the many common global challenges could only be tackled across boundaries. The theme for the 2012 Bologna Policy Forum was 'Beyond the Bologna Process: creating and connecting national, regional and global higher education space'. The sub-themes were 'Global academic mobility: incentives and barriers, balances and imbalances; Global and regional approaches to quality enhancement

of higher education; public responsibility for and of Higher Education within national and regional contexts; the contribution of higher education reforms to enhancing graduate employability’.

Advocates, including Lynas (2000) and Ohmae (2005) perceive globalisation as immensely beneficial to world economic development, especially in the developing countries in fostering integration and cohesion. Though I agree with such synergic efforts, it is equally essential to recognise the unequal impact of globalisation and its offshoots on various nations depending on the nation’s individual history, traditions, culture and priorities (Gordon, 2005; Knight 2004). Thus though equity, democracy and world economic integration and cohesion seem to be the implication of globalisation, it does not seem so in practice (Gordon, 2005; Knight, 2004; Shiva, 2000). Against the background of harnessing resources to tackle global challenges and promote human effort, what really sets me thinking is how ‘developing’ countries may be able to change the course of action to benefit from globalisation. While fully aware, from review of literature of the many social, economic, political and historical factors that work against such societies, I would say, it is essential that these countries strive to turn the tides in their favour. In this context, I think a major question some of these countries, especially in Africa should be asking reflectively, is what they could do, in spite of the barriers, to benefit from internationalisation and globalisation?

The national context

In Ghana, the debate on the relevant knowledge to be provided in the educational sector especially in higher education has been prominent since the years immediately preceding the nation’s independence in 1957. As a result there has been much discussion and various reforms and strategies including internationalisation, Africanisation, nationalisation and development and globalisation. These phases overlap at various times and sometimes it is

difficult to differentiate between them. However, each phase has impacted on curriculum development of the universities over the years.

With the influences, roles and expectations from the global context, the need for relevant knowledge has become a more critical issue. Many have expressed the need for scientific and technological knowledge to be emphasised. Others have emphasised the need for knowledge that will equip students to be global citizens. Recently, some academics in the universities have expressed the importance of emphasising the indigenous knowledge systems (Apusiga, 2011; Millar, 2005; Wiredu, 1984). However, these academics, similar to other non-Ghanaian African academics do not limit the emphasis of the need for indigenous knowledge systems to Ghana, but the need for such reforms throughout Africa. John Dramani Mahama, the President of the Republic of Ghana in his opening address of the international conference of African Studies, admonished African scholars and political leaders to champion African culture and values. He also emphasised the need for Africans to tell the stories of Africa to the rest of the world.

Strategic changes in the universities

There are nine public universities in Ghana. In response to the global and international demands, many of the universities have embarked on various strategic changes in terms of infrastructure, faculty, research and curriculum to reposition themselves in the global world in order to become more competitive. These strategies also aim at addressing critical issues in the universities and the local society to ensure quality and relevant knowledge production and eliminate many of the problems facing society (Manu *et. al.*, 2007). These strategies, which include development of infrastructure, introduction of new programmes and subjects and striving to enhance international collaborations are reflected in the mission statements of the Universities. These mission statements were all developed within the beginning of the 21st century. Below I give examples of the mission statements

of the universities selected for my study. Further discussions of these universities are provided in chapter two.

The University of Mawuta, for instance, has its mission statement to:

Develop world-class human resources and capabilities to meet national development needs and global challenges through quality teaching, learning, research and knowledge dissemination (Website of Institution).

The University of Ojo ‘is envisaged to be a Home of World Class Pro-Poor Scholarship’ (University Web site). This statement means that the University will continue in its initial mandate to impact positively on the lives of the poor. It will, however, try to achieve this goal in a ‘World Class’ standard. This involves having the best infrastructure, academic programmes and the best faculty. The university seeks to achieve its vision by:

- Promoting equitable and socioeconomic transformation of communities through practically oriented, community based, problem solving, gender sensitive and interactive research, teaching, learning and outreach activities.
- Providing higher education to persons suitably qualified for and capable of benefiting from it.
- Positioning itself as a national asset in the facilitation of lifelong learning.
- Developing its information and communication technology infrastructure as the driving force for the education of more people, more rapidly and the improvement of efficiency and academic quality in order to advance community and national development (Website of Institution).

The mission of the University of Ndebang states that it is:

The University of Choice in Ghana. It is an equal opportunity university uniquely placed to provide quality education through the provision of comprehensive, liberal

and professional programmes that challenge learners to be creative, innovative and morally responsible citizens. Through distance learning, it also extends expertise and facilities to train professionals for the education enterprise and business by employing modern technologies. The University constantly seeks alternative ways to respond to changing needs; to expand its existing highly qualified faculty and administrative staff; offer a conducive environment that motivates them to position the University to respond effectively to the developmental needs of a changing world” (Website of Institution).

In spite of the various reforms and strategies, there is continual public outcry about the lack of relevant knowledge and skills at the various educational levels to meet the needs and demands of the job market. This outcry has characterised every educational reform since Ghana achieved independence in 1957. Gondwe and Walenkamp (2011) in their report on the alignment of higher professional education with the needs of the local labour market referred to this outcry as ‘a Historical Legacy’.

The government, in a White paper on Educational Reforms (2007) acknowledged the inability of previous educational reforms to achieve the stated goals when it said:

The Government of the NPP [New Patriotic Party] shares with the people of Ghana the passionate interest in education, and the anxiety to bring about constant improvements in its availability and relevance, as evidenced by the large number of Review Committees, Commissions, etc. on education dating back to colonial times. But Government is also painfully aware of the failure of many of the attempts to reform the public system of education. There has been a continuing aim to make education more relevant to the world of work after school, to rural development and modernization of the predominantly agriculture-based economy, to the need to

promote national and cultural identity and citizenship. However results have been mixed (Government White Paper on Educational Reforms, 2007).

Again in a working draft of the National Employment Policy (2009), the Ministry of Employment and Social Welfare asserts that:

Yet the fact that our educational system continues to pour unskilled, semi-skilled and unemployable young graduates into a job market with comparably few job opportunities, shows there is a need for sober reflection and deeper thoughtfulness on the kind of policy interventions which will be needed to overcome the challenges.

Ghanaian academics also confirm the lack of relevance of knowledge and skills to socio-economic and cultural needs (Addy, 2008; Aryetey, 2008; Tonah, 2009). Tonah confirms that “the search for an ideal educational system for Ghana has remained elusive” (2009: 45). In fact, making education “more relevant to national needs” has become the official cliché without many positive results.

Against this backdrop of the need of the universities in Ghana to position themselves internationally in the context of local and international challenges and expectations, this study utilises Postcolonial theory to examine internationalisation at the public universities in Ghana, with particular emphasis on the curriculum. As a qualitative study, the research involved multiple case studies of three public universities in Ghana. The population of the study involved senior management, deans, heads of departments and students of selected departments. The universities, departments and non-student population were purposefully selected. Students were selected using the snowball sampling technique. The means of gathering the data were interviews, documentary

analyses and observations. The data were analysed using content and discourse analyses. Detailed discussion of the methodology is provided in chapter four.

Outline of thesis

Chapter one has provided the introduction and rationale for the study; it has also explained the aims, research questions and significance of the study. It was argued in the chapter that with the various debates and challenges bedevilling internationalisation, there is the need to explore internationalisation in the universities in Ghana to determine its impact and the institutions perception and reaction to it. In addition to adding to available literature on internationalisation in Ghana, it is hoped that the findings would guide the government, the institutions and donor agencies with regard to internationalisation policies in the Ghanaian universities.

Chapter two provides the contextual background of the research. In this chapter, the historical context of the study is presented. It also discusses the roles, challenges and the supervisory bodies of the universities as well as the various socio-economic and political happenings at the national level. The policy directions of various governments in Ghana since the country attained independence, the various educational reforms and also the economic contexts are discussed. It is indicated that colonisation has had great impact on the socio-economic and educational context of the country. Various reforms have occurred in the educational sector to provide what is perceived as relevant knowledge but various challenges including inadequate funding limit the achievement of the desired goals.

Chapter three reviews the literature related to higher education in Ghana. The concepts considered are internationalisation, globalisation, neoliberalism and Africanisation. It is argued that though internationalisation is a contested issue, it has assumed an important position in universities around the world. In many cases, however, it is perceived in the framework of Western standards, values and perspectives. Globalisation, similar to internationalisation is perceived as a problematic concept but

which is significantly influencing national policies. Similar to internationalisation, globalisation marginalises non-western perspectives while privileging Western values. It also has unequal impact on countries, with perceived poorer countries suffering negative impacts. The literature review indicated that a major concept underpinning internationalisation and globalisation is neoliberalism which emphasises the market and profits. Africanisation has been emphasised by some policy makers and academics as a way forward to address many of the challenges of globalisation. It is also to enable African nations address their challenges using an African context.

Chapter four sets out the methodology of the study. The rationales, strengths and weaknesses of the qualitative methodology are presented. It also discusses the population of the study, the sampling techniques, means of gathering the data, ethical principles and issues, and challenges encountered in the field. Data analyses techniques are also explained. The methodology is consistent with my metaphysical argument that there is no universal truth. In a world of sustained inter-relations, there is the need for all nations to contribute to the knowledge, values and standards privileged in the international sphere.

Chapters five through to eight analyse respondents' responses pertaining to the research questions. Chapter five discusses their perceptions of internationalisation. It also looks at the rationales of the universities in pursuing internationalisation agenda. The respondents' perception of Africanisation and their rationales for pursuing Africanisation are also discussed. It is argued that with the exception of the University of Mawuta in which almost all the respondents were in support of internationalisation, the majority of respondents in the other two universities, struggled between two desires: the desire to emphasise Western perspectives, values and knowledge systems and the desire to emphasise the indigenous knowledge systems. Whatever the desires, all the universities in the study have employed strategies to enhance their internationalisation agenda.

Chapters six and seven explore the strategies and processes of internationalisation in the universities in the study. While chapter six discusses the general strategies, which have been adopted, chapter seven discusses the curriculum outcome of the internationalisation process. In these chapters I argue that many of the strategies are influenced by neoliberal ideologies and the need to emphasise international standards. With these standards, to be judged as world class is based on a Western perspective. Such a narrow view, I argue, makes 'distinctiveness' very difficult to achieve in the universities.

Chapter eight analyses the challenges of the universities in their bid to strongly position themselves in the internationalisation arena. The strengths are also identified. Chapter nine, which is the final chapter, presents the conclusions and recommendations of the study. A major recommendation is the need for the universities in Ghana to identify and develop their own strengths to contribute meaningfully to the internationalisation process. It is argued that African knowledge systems, values and perspectives are not only critical to African higher educational institutions, they are needed in higher educational systems around the world. Recommendations for further studies are also considered in this chapter.

CHAPTER TWO

THE CONTEXT OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN GHANA

Introduction

Many writers have reiterated the importance of studying educational policies in the historical, political and economic settings (Frolich, Nicoline and Veiga 2005; Harris, 2007; Torres, 2009a). It is argued that many educational policies cannot be separated from their historical past, political ideologies, power relations, and economic realities. This chapter provides aspects of the historical, political and socio-economic context of education in Ghana. These issues serve as a contextual background to the research. The chapter comprises three sections. The first section presents the historical context, the second looks at the roles, challenges and supervisory bodies of the universities whilst the third considers the national context.

The historical context

Africa has a rich historical past encompassing social, economic, political, and cultural aspects. However, in the context of my research, which is on higher education, this section will be situated in the historical development of higher education in Africa.

Historical background of African universities

Higher education in Africa is as old as the pyramids of Egypt, the obelisks of Ethiopia and the Kingdom of Timbuktu (Teferra and Altbach, 2004: 23).

The history of higher education in Africa is long involving varied educational ideologies informed by Indigenous education, Islamic education, and Western education (Ajayi, *et. al.*, 1996; Lulat, 2005). Therefore, contrary to beliefs that Africa did not have a history or any form of education, formal education and higher education had existed long before the

introduction of Western education in Africa (Ajayi, *et. al.*, 1996; Lulat, 2005). As Ajayi *et. al.* (1996) noted, though the educational system varied from context to context in different countries and ethnic groups, generally, the African educational system aimed at developing a responsible child, an all-round personality able to fit in the society. Moumouni (1964) cited by Ajayi, *et.al.* (1996) also argues that the educational system was well structured, systematic and children proceeded smoothly from one stage to the other. Again, contrary to popular belief, this form of education, he notes, was not limited to the informal sector. Ajayi, *et.al.* (1996) distinguish between the informal and formal as well as the basic, secondary, and the tertiary aspects of the indigenous education. Higher education was mainly for the training of leaders and was guided by exclusive selection policies (Ibid). For instance, candidates selected for higher education came from particular families like the royal home, and had to show some form of evidence of special vocation and or spiritual calling. The courses pursued included good oratory skills, societal values, customs and ideologies, history, geography, astronomy, medicine and the art of warfare (Ibid).

There was the sage who was ‘recognised as a philosopher, an original thinker whose words of wisdom and advice was widely sought both by private individuals and public officials’ (Ajayi, *et.al.*, 1996: 3). To attract more patronage, these specialists had to develop more skills, new knowledge and insights. Such practices enhanced the search for new knowledge. Indigenous higher education thus actually exhibited the characteristics and performed the roles similar to the present system of higher education of imparting knowledge, research and community service.

Under European colonisation, the indigenous system of education was disregarded, viewed as primitive; it was considered necessary to introduce the African to ‘civilisation’ through a European system of education. The foundation of European education was laid in the 19th century and was principally pursued by the British and the French (Cowan, *et. al.*, 1965). In the case of the British colonial government, it was not particularly interested

in comprehensive colonial education, and so, did not pursue a coherent educational policy. Particular schools and colleges were built depending on necessity. The necessity could range from various factors including the need of personnel for such posts as clerks, or demands by Africans for such schools. Many of the initial schools and colleges were, however, built by the missionaries.

In terms of higher education in British Colonial Africa, Lulat (2005) one of the major historians of African higher education, identified three distinct but successive periods. The first stage was the ‘era of benign neglect’ (1800 – 1920’s), where the colonial government was not opposed to higher education in principle, but in practice was apathetical. The second stage (1920’s to 1945) was the ‘era of partial neglect’ where few colleges were built, including Achimota College in Ghana in 1924, and the Government College at Ibadan, Nigeria in 1929. These Colleges were built as and when required rather than as a consequence of a clear policy initiative. The third stage, was the era of ‘Asquith colleges’ (1945 to early 1960’s) where the policy was to build higher institutions in Africa (Lulat 2005: 208).

With the initial disinterest in higher education by the British Colonial government, the first higher educational institute to be built in the Anglophone countries was by the Missionaries. This institute was the Fouray Bay College built in Sierra Leone in 1926; was built for theological purposes. The missionaries also saw it as a ‘logical extension of their on-going involvement in higher education’ (Lulat, 2005: 209). However, in the 1870s, there was clamour for secular western education in West African universities by some Africans who had been exposed to the missionary education (Lulat, 2005). They thought the establishment of secular universities was ‘a fitting climax’ to western education (Agbodeka, 1998: 2). Besides, such a university would, it was claimed, provide education that ‘goes beyond the confines of missionary-oriented education, which they felt was narrow, intellectually stifling, and dogmatic’ (Lulat, 2005: 210). The British Government-

funded university, they demanded, should emphasise the African culture and be overtly responsive to the socio-economic and political development of the colonies. These demands were resisted by missionaries who thought they would corrupt the African (Agbodeka, 1998). Besides, it was seen as threatening to their mission of spreading the Gospel (Lulat, 2005).

After much persistence, the Fourah Bay College became partially government funded, and was affiliated to Durham University in Britain in 1876. The curriculum was broadened but did not include important subjects such as African Studies, the Sciences, and students who were not studying theology were also admitted. Agitation for a university went down for a while but in the late 1920s, it reappeared. Many writers attribute these agitations to increased nationalists' ideas and ideals (Agbodeka, 1998; Lulat, 2005). Nationalist movements were started by African elites who had been exposed not only to Western education but who had part of their studies abroad. These people became more conscious of the effects and continuous suppression of Africans by the Colonial Government. According to Coleman (1954) the nationalists had also become conscious to Western democratic system of governance, welfare and the ability of nations to govern themselves.

The primary aim of the nationalist movement was not only to attain political independence but cultural emancipation and economic virility and modernisation (Hodgkin, 1957). They realised political independence would also enhance modernisation of the various African countries. Coleman (1954) distinguishes between the post-war and the pre-war nationalism. According to him, while the pre-war nationalist movements consisted of small number of African elites and rich people in the urban areas, nationalism after the Second World War assumed a wider dimension. It expanded to include a wide range of people from the interior of the country. The initial group of nationalists had great support from the masses to put pressure on the Colonial Government for independence.

The elites educated the people on the importance of self-governance, education (of course, Western), and they worked through family and tribal associations (Ibid). The demands of the nationalists partly influenced the establishment of some colleges in the Colonies, namely, Achimota College in Ghana in 1924, the Kitchener Memorial School of Medicine in Sudan in 1924, Government College in Nigeria in 1929, and the Higher College at Yaba, also in Nigeria in 1934.

According to Khapoya (2012), a Professor of Political Science at Oakland University, nationalism became more pronounced after the Second World War and various factors account for that. Many Africans served in both wars. They felt, however, that the colonial authorities did not show much appreciation to them as they did to Europeans who served in the war. This recognition created bitterness in, not only the ex-service men, but other Africans, especially among the nationalists. They did not lose sight of the fact that they, and as Khapoya puts it, the ‘unfreed’ were being used to fight for the liberation of their ‘Masters’ from German domination. A major factor identified by Khapoya is the psychological impact on the people. Those who fought in the wars now realised White and Black people are the same, beyond the colour difference. They saw the White crying, bleeding, dying and exhibiting similar emotions. They also realised they could be afraid. In short, Whites were also humans. Again after the Second World War, there was so much socio-economic hardship in the African colonies (such as unemployment, poor health and educational facilities and urbanisation), which the colonial masters were finding difficult to address.

At the end of the Second World War, the British Government considered how it could establish a university in the colonies. Two major Commissions, the Elliot Commission (1945) and the Asquith Commission (1945) were subsequently set up by the Government to look into educational issues in the colonies. The reports by these two commissions, supplemented by the report of the Phelps-Stoke commission which was set

up in 1925, played a very significant role in the establishment of higher educational institutions in the colonies. The Phelps-Stoke commission recommended among others, the urgent establishment of a higher educational institution in the colonies. The Asquith and Elliot commissions were subsequently set up by the British Government to perform separate but complementary tasks. The Elliot Commission, under the Chairmanship of Walter Elliot was to examine and make recommendations on the state of higher education in the British West African colonies. The Asquith Commission, chaired by Justice Cyril Asquith, was 'to consider the principles which should guide the promotion of higher education, learning and research and the development of universities in the colonies; and to explore means whereby universities and other appropriate bodies in the United Kingdom may be able to cooperate with institutions of higher education in the colonies in order to give effect to these principles' (United Kingdom, 1945, cited in Lulat, 2005: 227) research and learning.

Both Commissions submitted their reports in 1945. The Elliot Commission published two reports: a majority report which recommended the establishment of two University Colleges in the Gold Coast (now Ghana) and Nigeria, and a minority report which suggested that there should be only one University College for the whole of British West Africa. This University was to be established at Ibadan in Nigeria. The reports of the commissions generated a lot of debate whether there should be one university for Anglophone West Africa or whether the Gold Coast should have its own university. To address this problem, the Bradley Committee, which comprised mainly local people, was established to advise the then Governor as to the wishes of the people. This Committee reported that, it was essential that the Gold Coast had its own university.

The Asquith commission had however, recommended that though fully fledged universities were essential, university colleges rather than universities should be established in the colonies. Subsequently, a number of higher education institutions were

established including the University College of the Gold Coast in 1948. Various socio-economic and political factors including those described above influenced the establishment of universities colleges across Africa (Ajayi, et.al. 1996; Lulat, 2005).

During the early part of this period (1945-1960), there was great agitation for independence in India, and the government thought that Africa might follow suit. Moreover, some Africans had been going abroad on their own, to pursue higher education. The colonial government feared they may return to create nationalist problems. Again, Britain had made great strides politically and economically and did not need to continue with indirect rule of the colony, neither were they able to meet the challenging socio-economic conditions in the colonies. According to Khapoya, at this period, 'Both Britain and France were looking for an honourable exit from Africa' (2012: 163). There was therefore the need to train leadership to take over government at the end of colonial rule, which was eminent (Lulat, 2005). Ghana achieved independence in March, 1957.

With the Political independence of many British African Colonies which occurred during the latter part of the 1950s through to the 1960s, there was agitation once again, this time for the establishment of independent universities. Eventually, the first university, Ahmadu Bello University, was set up in 1961 in Nigeria, followed by the University of Ghana also in 1961. Further universities were later established across Africa (Ajayi, *et.al.*, 1996).

Many critics have attacked the mode and direction of European education in the colonies (Combe, 1991; Lulat, 2005; Schoole 2005). Critics believe that it failed to meet the needs and aspirations of the people. European education, it was argued, was introduced into Africa based on false assumptions, beliefs, intentions and prejudices (Ashby, 1967). Some Western writers however have thought otherwise and have not viewed colonial education as a deliberate attempt to perpetuate colonial domination. Rather, it was based

on confused goals and policies (Whitehead, 1988, 2005). Generally, however, there seems to be an agreement that both the quality and quantity of education development was inadequate in Africa (Ashby, 1967; Küster, 2007; Lulat, 2005; Whitehead, 1988, 2005).

Development of Higher Education in Ghana

The development of higher education in Ghana must be set in the context of development of higher education in Africa (and British Colonial Africa) to understand its wider context. The establishment of Achimota College³ in the Gold Coast in the 1920s, specifically, set the context for higher educational development in the Gold Coast. The College was to provide comprehensive education from Kindergarten to intermediate level and to prepare students for higher education. With arrangements approved by the University of London, it turned out its first student in 1935 with a BSc. Degree in Engineering (Effah and Hofman, 2010).

The subsequent establishment of Fourah Bay in Sierra Leone and the University College of the Gold Coast also played a significant role in the development of higher education in Ghana. Initially, the University College of the Gold Coast was affiliated to the University of London, which supervised its academic programmes and awarded degrees. As indicated earlier, the College gained full University status in 1961. Within the next two years, based upon the recommendation of the International Commission on Higher Education, under the chairmanship of Kojo Botsio, the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology and the University of Cape Coast, were established in the 1961 and 1962, respectively (Effah and Hofman, 2010).

After the establishment of these universities in the immediate post-independence era, the next cohort of universities was established almost thirty years later upon the recommendation of the University Rationalization Committee (URC). This Committee was

³ Achimota College later become a secondary school and did not continue to award degrees.

set up in 1988 as an aspect of the national educational reform in 1987 to look into university education in Ghana. The committee recommended the establishment of another three public universities. These three public universities, the committee argued, would not entail much cost as they would emerge out of ‘already existing institutions and the unified institutions, ... would be cheaper to run than the original separate institutions’ (MOE/URC, 1988 cited in Bening 2005: 127). Since 2011, three other universities have been added. Two of these universities, the University of Health and Allied Science and the University of Energy and Natural Resources, are very small and at the ‘teething’ stage. The other, University of Professional Studies, emerged out of the existing Institute for Professional Studies.

Thus, presently, as indicated in chapter one, Ghana has nine public universities⁴. Again, discussion of the universities will be confined to the three main universities which were chosen for this study: the University of Mawuta, the University of Ndebang and the University of Ojo.

The University of Mawuta

The purpose of the University was to provide for and promote university education, learning and research (Effah and Hofman, 2010). Its roles were not confined to serving national interests. At its inception, the University was to give high quality international education to many African countries (Effah and Senadza, 2008). The Vice Chancellor, in his lecture during the 65th anniversary of internationalisation at the University in March, 2013, indicated that the University ‘was also to give Ghanaians what we could have gained by going to Oxford, Harvard, etc.’ According to him, this role of the University began to wane as national governments in the African region began establishing their own universities. Again, as he emphasised, the difficulties experienced by the University in the 1970s and 80s, put the institution ‘at its lowest point’, thereby affecting its role of

⁴ Website of the Ghana Accreditation Board

internationalisation. The interest in internationalisation of the University was renewed in the 1990s.

Initially, the University College was affiliated to University of London which supervised its academic programmes and awarded its degrees. It gained full university status by an Act of Parliament on October 1, 1961 (Act 79) with 682 students: 620 males (90.9%) and 62 females (9.1%). The University of Mawuta (as it is presently known) is now the largest of the nine public universities in Ghana and is in Accra, Ghana's capital. It has 38,376 students: 23,237(60.55%) males and 15,139 (39.45%) females (University of Mawuta Basic Statistics, 2011). Out of the total number, 31 081, comprising 18,899 males and 12,182 females are enrolled in various undergraduate programmes. The rest are enrolled in Graduate (4,462) and Sub-degree (2,833) programmes. Most of these students are from Ghana (96.68%). The rest are from other African countries (2.17%), the Americas (1.01%), Asia (0.01%), Europe (0.14%) and Oceania with just one student.

University of Ndebang

The University of Ndebang began as a University College and was affiliated to the University of Mawuta. The University operated, however, without any Legal Act (Dwarko and Kwarteng, 2003). In 1966, a drafted bill by the University College was presented to the Government, the National Liberation Council (NLC) for their approval. The Bill was approved as NLC Decree 145 in 1967 but it was perceived to have been operating since 1963. The University achieved autonomous status with the right to award its own certificates, diplomas and degrees in 1971 by an Act of Parliament (ACT 390) and later the University of Ndebang Law 1992 (PNDC Law 278) (Dwarko and Kwarteng, 2003).

The establishment of the University was spearheaded by Dr Kwame Nkumah, the first President of Ghana, to provide a unique but complementary role to the first two universities; University of Mawuta and the University of Jos. The central focus of the

University of Ndebang was to train professionally qualified graduate teachers to serve in the country's secondary schools, teacher training colleges and technical institutions that had sprung up between 1952 and 1957, and those to be set up in the future (Dwarko and Kwarteng, 2003). The University was also to produce graduates grounded in African knowledge systems and culture essential in building an independent nation with a distinct African identity. Other roles of the University involved training and producing graduates with scientific and technological expertise to contribute to the industrial development of the country. It was to 'become a beacon radiating its light of knowledge and service to all from far and near in the course of peace and human progress and happiness' (cited by Obeng, 2009). The administrative style was modelled after the University of Mawuta.

From an initial student enrolment of 155 in 1963, the University of Ndebang now (2013) has a total student population of over 35,900. In 2010, the University of Ndebang had a total population of 15,789 students (University of Ndebang Basic statistics, 2010). This number comprised 10,591 (67%) males and 5198 (33%) females. Out of this number, 14,748 (93.4%) were doing undergraduate studies while 1,041 (6.6%) were doing postgraduate studies⁵.

In response to the changing needs of the country, the University has now expanded its faculties and diversified many of its programmes. These changes aim to meet diverse manpower needs of the economy. For instance, "the University has progressively added to its traditional functions, the training of educational planners, administrators, agriculturalists, actuarial scientists, optometrists, information technologists, biochemists, environmentalists, laboratory technologists and experts in commerce, management, tourism, population and family life education, water and sanitation, molecular biology,

⁵ Though I do not have statistics on international students, the percentage could be lower than the University of Ghana

biotechnology, computer science and livestock system managers” (University of Ndebang, website).

The University of Ojo

The University of Ojo is the youngest of the three universities covered in this study. It was established in 1992 with multi-campus and sited in the three northern regions of Ghana: the Northern, Upper East and Upper West regions. Two campuses of the University were sited in the Northern region. These are the main campus and the Nyankpala campus. These regions are considered the poorest regions in Ghana and with the highest rate of illiteracy (Bening, 2005). The University was thus to provide an alternative form of higher education by blending “the academic world with that of the community in order to provide constructive interaction between the two for the total development of Northern Ghana, in particular, and the country as a whole” (PNDC Law 279, Section 279). It was also to address the need “for universities to play a more active role in addressing problems of the society, particularly in the rural areas” (Effah, 1998).

To this end, unlike any other university in Ghana, the University practices the Third Trimester Field Practical programme (TTFPP). The programme was initiated in 1993 and requires all students to live and work periodically in selected rural communities for specific periods. Distributed on its four campuses, the University has seven Faculties, a Business School, a Medical School, a Graduate School and three Centres. It has a student population of 19,921 with the bulk of students on the Wa Campus. This Campus has a student population of 12,270⁶. In the next section I discuss the broader roles and challenges of these universities in the national, regional and international context.

⁶ Here again, I do not have the total breakdown of females and males or international students of this university because the available statistics do not include these.

Roles of the universities

Though inter-national activities and relations have long existed in higher education institutions across the world, present conditions including technology and globalisation of Capital have made such relationships increasingly pronounced. Policies regulating institutions in other countries tend to be adopted by others. This could be perceived in the Bologna process where many non-European countries are interested in adopting the Bologna policies. Generally, the same policies are developed by multilateral agencies including the World Bank and the United Nations Educational, Scientific, Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) for various nations. Such policies include the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), the Education For All (EFA) Project and Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAP). With this backdrop, the roles of universities in Ghana should be perceived in the context of global, regional (Africa) and national demands and expectations.

Globally, there is the perception of the importance of knowledge in building economies and enhancing a better life for the individual (Bailey *et. al.*, 2011; OECD, 1999; Singh and Manu, 2007). Thus, higher education should not only perform the traditional role of teaching and research but should be able to enhance development and impact on the lives of individuals and the nation. The concept of development, however, is not unproblematic. Nielsen (2011) has indicated that development as a concept is difficult to define. In terms of time and place, and among organisations, development has been defined differently. For instance, during the period after the Second World War, economic development was perceived ‘as a process where latecomers catch up with pioneers’ (Nielsen, 2011: 5). Later, Sen (1999) in his book ‘Development as freedom’, perceived development as freedom from everything that makes a person feel uncomfortable. Presently, development appears to be perceived mainly in material terms (Escobar 2012; Gupta, 2010). In Ghana, most often, development is perceived in terms of adequate and

sustained increase in infrastructure, schools, health facilities and employment. It also includes people having adequate food and shelter. Though, these lists in themselves do not appear to be wrong, some see the perception of development mainly in economic and material terms as a way to perpetuate dominance of Western cultures. Escobar argues that ‘development continues to play a role in the strategy of cultural and social domination’ (2012: vii)

In 2002, the United Nations General Assembly at its 57th meeting declared 2005 - 2014 as the United Nations Decade of Education for Sustainable Development (UNDESD) and was spearheaded in its implementation by UNESCO. This vision seeks to empower all individuals irrespective of age, to take responsibility for creating and enjoying a sustainable future (MacGregor, 2009). To enhance this vision, UNDESD provided guidelines for African higher educational institutions to strategically review their curricula, conduct relevant scientific research, and collaborate with other partners to contribute to achieve national, regional and international goals (Ibid).

At the second regional UNESCO Forum on Higher Education, Research and Knowledge held in Accra in 2007, the roles of universities were outlined to include poverty alleviation, enhancing control of diseases, enhancing development, access to education at all levels, and achievement of Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and EFA targets. The universities have also been called upon by policy makers to be key instruments in upholding African unity, conflict resolutions, democracy and governance, and human rights. The universities are also to help in providing the expertise in analysing African problems as well as to take an active role in the global knowledge community (Annan, 2008; Mbeki, 2005; Yar’Adua, 2009).

Though these expected numerous roles of the universities appear quite a big task for one particular institution, they indicate how both at the national and regional levels, so much hope has been built on the universities to ensure sustained development especially in

achieving the MDGs of member countries. It could also be argued that some of these roles are linked to neoliberal ideas and the evolution of the knowledge economy in which knowledge is perceived as critical in socio-economic development of nations and well-being of the people. Whatever the arguments are, these numerous roles expected of the universities portray the complex situation confronting African universities, particularly, given their precarious challenges and conditions of state: perennial issues of relevance, inadequacy of resources, explosion in enrolment and demand for access, and the challenge of the “knowledge revolution” and globalisation.

For the universities to uphold their mandates, there have been various responses and efforts at the regional, national and institutional levels.

At the national level, each of the universities, as explained in previous sections, is mandated to satisfy particular national needs. With present external and internal demands, many of the universities have tried to expand beyond their initial mandates. The University of Mawuta for instance developed a new Act in 2010 (Act 806). This Act emphasises the aim of the University to ‘provide higher education, undertake research, disseminate knowledge, and foster relationships with outside persons and bodies’. As indicated above, the University of Ndebang has also diversified many of its programmes.

Various educational policies and reforms have also emphasised the need for the universities to provide relevant knowledge in the society (Report of Educational Review committee, 2002; Government White paper on Educational Reforms, 2007). Such policies and reforms have emphasised the need to strengthen the link between the universities and Industries. All the universities therefore have the agenda to strengthen their links with industries, though in reality it appears difficult because of what appears to be lack of interest especially at the level of the industries. Another reason, I will argue, is lack of a coherent policy to regulate such relationships.

Supervisory bodies

The universities are supervised by two separate but collaborative bodies. These bodies are the National Council for Tertiary Education (NCTE) and the National Accreditation Board (NAB). The National Council for Tertiary Education (NCTE) was established by Act 454 of 1993 (Website of NCTE). It replaced the National Council for Higher Education (NCHE) which was established in 1962. The role of the Council is mainly monetary (website of NCTE). Specifically, the Council is tasked among others, to advise the Minister of Education on the development of institutions of tertiary education in Ghana, their financial needs and purposes of annual education budgets. It is also mandated to advise governing councils of these institutions, including suggesting suitable measures for generating funds for the institutions. In addition to the monetary functions, the Council recommends national standards and norms. These include standards and norms on staff, costs, accommodation and time utilization for approval of the Minister. Generally, the National Council for Tertiary Education is “devoted to providing leadership in the direction, functions, role and relevance of tertiary education in Ghana” (website of NCTE).

The National Accreditation Board (NAB) was established in 1993 by the Government of Ghana under PNDCL 317, 1993 (Website of NAB). The legislation was however, replaced by the National Accreditation Board Act 744, 2007. The mandate of the Board is to contribute to “furtherance of better management of tertiary education” as the Quality Assurance body at the tertiary level (White Paper on the Reforms to the Tertiary Education System 1991). It is the mandate of the Board to ensure that the country’s tertiary education system becomes responsive to a fast changing world and makes its graduates progressively competitive in the world of work. The Board supervises all programmes and subjects introduced in all tertiary institutions, both public and private to ensure that they are within the accepted standards and norms. In addition, the Board approves the establishment of any tertiary institution in the country. It has the mandate to prevent the

establishment of institutions or close down existing ones if they fail to meet national standards.

Challenges of the universities

From the onset, higher education established in pre and immediate post-colonial era was confronted with many challenges (Tefferu and Altbach, 2004). These challenges became worse in the 1970s. During this period, higher education, which had been highly regarded as an indispensable tool of development in Africa in the immediate post independent years, was played down by significant policy makers. It was argued by external forces, spearheaded by the World Bank, that it was more beneficial to invest in primary and vocational education instead of universities (Combe, 1991; Lulat, 2005; Singh and Manuh, 2007). This is because they argued that returns from investing in universities were low and therefore people should rather be given university education abroad (Zezeza & Olukoshi, 2004). This argument led to the subsequent total neglect of the universities resulting in the critical situation of the universities.

Combe (1991) identified some of the problems the universities faced as low enrolment, low salaries, low academic staff coupled with inability to easily attract the youth, lack of up-to-date journals and lack of commitment from academics. These and many other conditions made some academics to wallow in “Cynicism, venality, actual or psychic truancy, dereliction of duty and opportunism” (Combe, 1991: 13). He indicates further that the conditions of the universities were so poor that some wondered whether “it can rightly be called a university experience at all” (Ibid). It was indeed a strangulation of Universities in Africa; the universities being given a starvation diet” (Ibid: 15).

All these problems were in the context of political repression, civil war, widespread poverty and disease (Singh and Manuh, 2007). Generally, there was damage to morale which Combe, (1991) described, as the most serious of all the problems. Though the

perception of higher education has changed, and now perceived as vital for socio-economic development, the challenges of the universities have persisted. Presently, with emphasis on global integration of capital, breakdown of international barriers and emphasis on the importance of knowledge in development, the challenges have become ‘unprecedented’ (Teffara and Altbach, 2004). The lack of funding however is the severest (Ibid). The lack of resources has made the universities become ‘permanent supplicants for foreign development assistance’ (Lulat, 2005: 379).

My experiences as an undergraduate in the mid 1990s, as well as a postgraduate student and a lecturer between 2002 and 2010, consistently reflected many of these problems. As a first year student of the 1994/95 academic year, I experienced these crises even before I set foot on university campus. The limited funding most often resulted in high tension between governments and the universities as well as student bodies and university administrators (Combe, 1991). Such tensions also often generated strikes and demonstrations by faculty and non-academic staff, as well as students. As a result of strikes, the 1994/95 academic year started in January 1996 instead of August 1995. In January we were in school for only three months before lecturers went on strike again and this time resumed in December, 1996, after nine months. I spent four years on my undergraduate programme instead of three years due to strikes and demonstrations.

As first year undergraduate students, what confronted us, the first day we reported, was where to sleep. Though many of us wanted accommodation on campus we were not offered it. The lucky ones had rooms as ‘Perchers’. A ‘Percher’ is a local term used to describe someone who has been offered, unofficially, an opportunity to share university accommodation with another person. To be a percher came with a lot of discomfort. For instance, the ‘percher’ in some cases, was the last person to sleep and the first to wake up. This is because most of the rooms were shared accommodation with two or more people. The ‘percher’ had to sleep on the floor. Those who were not fortunate to be ‘perchers’, had

to find their accommodation outside the university. Those with enough money, had to rent rooms at very exorbitant prices. Many of these rooms, however, went without basic facilities like toilets and bathrooms. The few unlucky ones had to sleep in the Junior Common Rooms of the various halls of residence for some time so they could sort themselves out later.

I was lucky to be a second ‘percher’ with a final year student who was from my town. However, I had to stay for just some few days as a second percher. Later, kitchenettes in one of the halls of residence (the only hall with kitchenettes) were converted into rooms and I had to share one of these rooms with four other ladies. Some of the kitchenettes had eleven occupants. All the cooking was done in the rooms as none of the halls had kitchens. The Kitchenettes in the new hall had been converted into rooms.

In terms of lectures, there were inadequate classrooms and the available ones were very small in relation to the number of students. In some of the classes, students had to go to class at least 30 minutes earlier to try to get a seat in the lecture room, although not even this would guarantee you a seat. There were times when in some few of the classrooms, students had to sit on steps on the bare floor because there were not enough chairs and many of them were broken. In many of the lectures, many students had to stand outside the lecture room. Many lecturers used microphones and most often there was interference on the microphones. With many courses, students had to take class tests and quizzes by 6:00 am. Taking the tests and quizzes at this time ensured that there were many classrooms to accommodate all the students taking the exams. So many were the problems of the University of Ndebang that, it was nicknamed, the “University of Constant Confusion” by students. These problems, however, were common in all the other universities.

In the last decade, the universities have embarked on various strategies to improve their infrastructure and programmes. However, it is believed that the complexities of the

roles, expectations and challenges of higher education in Africa, still surpass all (Tefferra and Altabach, 2004). These challenges, I will argue have more to do with various national contextual factors including low income status, dependence on foreign directions and lack of what could be described as satisfactory leadership. The next section discusses the contextual background of Ghana. Some of the issues discussed include the policy directions of various governments since independence, economic status and demographic factors.

Ghana: The national political and socio-economic context

Since independence, Ghana has experienced a series of both democratic and military forms of government, as well as different types of policy directions (Boafo Arthur, 2007). These policy directions include ‘liberal economic and varying degrees of authoritarianism... military, and welfare politics...’ as well as policies targeted at reducing foreign dependence (Ibid: 1). In this section, I will discuss the political and socio- economic contexts of Ghana. The political context will be in two parts: the context between 1951 and 1981, which was characterised by struggle for independence, early years of independence and a series of military coup d’états and intermittent democratic rule. The other part will be from 1981 up to the present, which was characterised by an early part of military rule but stable governance (1981-1992) and democratic governance (1992-present). Whatever the policies pursued by the various governments, none was able to extricate himself completely from foreign economic and political dependency, which I argue, appears to have been made worse by the surge in the country’s adoption of neoliberalism.

1957-1981

Dr. Kwame Nkrumah became the first Prime Minister of the Gold Coast in 1952 and President in 1960 after Ghana became a Republic. Nkrumah assumed a socialist, anti-imperialist approach to governance (Boafo-Arthur, 2007) and aligned himself with the

Soviet Union and China. Soviet and Chinese personnel provided much technical assistance. In addition to promoting the African culture and heritage, his economic and political policies targeted eliminating the dependency of the country on Western countries and capitalists organisations such as the World Bank and IMF (Biney, 2011). His policies also emphasised accelerated economic and educational development. With this approach, he sought to emphasise state ownership and intervention over capitalism. However, with his adoption of a one-party state in 1964, other aspects of liberalism including freedom of speech and association were suppressed (Biswal, 1992; Boafo-Arthur, 2007). In 1966 Nkrumah was overthrown through a coup d'état accused of corruption and mismanagement, amid other economic challenges.

With the military overthrow of Nkrumah, the National Liberation Council (NLC) government came into power. The NLC government adopted a pro-West stance. Within the first week of being in office, Soviet and Chinese technical assistant personnel were asked to leave Ghana. The government abolished the one party system and re-introduced the multi-party system through the publication of the 'Political Parties Decree, 1969. However, in the years that ensued, the public agitated for a democratic government. With the agitation for a civilian government and a subsequent referendum, a new constitution was put in place in 1969 which forced the military government to hand over power to a civilian government. In August, 1969, a general election was held which led to a new government, the Progress Party, led by Dr. Kofi Abrefa Busia.

On assumption of office, Busia's agenda was to 'to maintain "good relations" with Western countries, and "build the economy at home". At the local front, he sought to promote what Biswal describe as ' Ghanaianism' (1992: 119). This involved promoting self-reliance and cultural practices of Ghanaians. At the time of assumption of office by Dr. Busia, the country's external debt was over 800 million U.S. dollars. In spite of some financial aid from Western societies, including the IMF and the World Bank, Busia's

administration still encountered serious economic problems. Not 'only was it unable to cope with the unemployment problem and inflation, it was incapable of solving the country's balance of payment problem (Acheampong, 1979: 173). In 1972, the Progress Party (PP) was toppled by another military coup led by Colonel Ignatius Acheampong. The Government of the PP was accused among other perceived failings, of endorsing free market economy which according to critics, generated exploitation of the people. It was felt that the problems experienced during Nkrumah's time were still prevalent.

Acheampong promised economic recovery, self-reliance and improved agriculture under which he developed an 'operation feed yourself' policy (Biswal, 1992: 135). With this policy, each individual was supposed to grow his own food. Some of his policies included the promulgation of the new Investment Policy decree in 1975. This policy allowed local traders to acquire certain foreign businesses, which were reserved for Ghanaians only. Acheampong's regime was also accused of bad management and misallocation of resources. Conditions became worse with severe drought which affected his 'operation feed yourself' programme. There was a decline in cocoa production, and farmers smuggled cocoa outside the country. There was also mass unemployment. After being in power for six years, Acheampong's Government was also ousted in July, 1978 by another military coup staged by the Supreme Military Council (SMC). Power was handed over to General Frederick Akuffo (Ibid).

On assumption of power, General Akuffo promised to hand over power to a civilian government as according to him, only a civilian government could address the problems of the nation. In the process of forming a transitional civilian government which was later to be replaced by a more permanent one, Akuffo was removed from office in 1979 through another coup masterminded by Flight Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings, a junior Air force officer.

On assumption of power, Rawlings declared ‘a house cleaning exercise’ (Biswal, 1992: 157). Previous presidents and other leaders including Generals Afrifa, Acheampong and Akuffo were arrested, tried and executed. The same year, the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council led by Rawlings handed over power to Liman of the People’s National Convention (PNC). The Liman government also did not have things easy. They inherited many problems including a high inflationary economy, low production and exports, and an increased external debt (Ibid). In 1981, Rawlings overthrew Liman through another coup d’état, ushering in the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC).

1981- present

With his return, Rawlings initially adopted socialist policies (Boafo-Arthur, 2007). He adopted anti-western stand, blaming Western countries for the poor state of Ghana. The house cleansing exercise continued, which also involved waging what Adjei describes as ‘a class war’ (1993: 207). The Rawlings government argued that ‘the poor had been exploited by the rich and it was their [the poor] turn to get even with them [the rich]’ (Ibid, 209). People who were perceived to be corrupt or rich were arrested and tried, some were executed while others were given various forms of punishment including confiscation of their properties and caning.

Intense negative economic conditions including very high inflation and lack of foreign exchange that confronted the nation especially between the 1970s and the 1980s forced President Rawlings to make a ' U-turn' from his socialist stand to ‘Pro-West liberal policies’ in April, 1983 (Ibid). The government had little choice but to become more aligned to the IMF, the World Bank and other international aid organisations (Asaga, 2008, Thompson, 2008). This decision also led to the adoption of structural adjustment

programmes (SAP)⁷. Among others, SAPs aimed at addressing budget deficits, balance of payment (BOP) deficits and the resulting debt problem through boosting exports, discouraging imports and attracting foreign investment (Omtzigt, 2008)⁸.

Boafo-Arthur confirms that ‘the PNDC demonstrated unprecedented and relentless pursuit of liberal economic policies after its initial socialist posturing had been abandoned’ (2007: 7). In 1992, the country adopted democratic governance as a condition of the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP), adopted by the Ghana government in 1983. Again, Boafo-Arthur indicated that January, 1993 ‘marked the beginning of a serious attempt by Ghana to enthrone the liberal state in all its ramifications.’ (2007: 227). The PNDC, which now changed its name to the National Democratic Congress (NDC), but led by former President Rawlings, contested the election that year and won. Thus the policies pursued under the previous government continued.

By 2000, Ghana was caught ‘in a poverty/debt-trap and became extremely aid-dependent’ (Bank of Ghana, n.d.: 4). A debt sustainability analysis by the International Monetary Fund at the end of 2000 indicated that Ghana’s external debt could not be sustainable (IMF 2001). A general election conducted in December 2000 led to the defeat of the NDC, and coming into power, the New Patriotic Party (NPP)

In 2001, on the assumption of office as the President of Ghana, John Agyekum Kuffor of the New Patriotic Party (NPP) opted for debt relief under the Highly Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) Initiative of the World Bank and IMF. The HIPC initiative adopted by the government relieved Ghana of its public debt substantially (World Bank, n.d.

⁷ Structural adjustment programmes are defined as a set of programmes, policies, conditionalities, that are recommended by the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and other Financial Organisations (Torres, 2002).

⁸ Omtzigt, a dutch economist with extensive experience in economic development in Africa enumerated some of the conditions of the SAP. These included devaluing the currency, abolishing price controls and import and export quotas, and redefining the role of the state so that the state does not expand its roles. Others included adopting monetary and fiscal policies such as ensuring a balance in the budget, and the government not required to resort to printing money.

Asaga, 2008). The country also adopted the Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy (GPRS 1) policy framework⁹. Though the New Patriotic Party improved the economic conditions of the nation greatly, it was defeated in the 2008 general elections, thus ushering back into power, the National Democratic Congress (NDC).

The National Democratic Congress which has been in power since 2008 under two different leaders, the late John Atta Mills (2008-2012) and John Dramani Mahama (2012-2013) has also blazed the footsteps of their predecessors, in terms of dedication to neoliberal principles. These include continuation of IMF programmes and emphasis on the private sector as an engine of economic growth (State of the nation addresses, 2009, 2011, 2012). In spite of all the policies, the country still depends heavily on donor support, including the IMF and the World Bank (Aryetey, 2008; Manu *et. al*, 2007; Thomson, 2008).

Haynes (2007) sums up Ghana's traditional political ideologies as embodied between Nkrumah's Ideologies which he identifies as socialism, anti-imperialism and ideologies of Busia-Danquah tradition which are liberalism and pro-West. He identifies a 'third distinctive political position 'Rawlingsism' associated with 'provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) tradition characterised by a strongly nationalist orientation, socially-oriented development programmes, and a foreign policy marked by an unusual blend of anti-imperialism and pro-western initiatives.

Educational reforms in Ghana

Higher education in Ghana has gone through several phases since the nation achieved independence in 1957. These phases, marked by various policies and strategies involve Africanisation, nationalisation and development, internationalisation and globalisation. These phases overlap at various times and sometimes it is difficult to differentiate between

⁹ The GPRS 1 was a policy document prepared as a pre-condition for Ghana to benefit from the Highly Indebted Poor Country Initiative (HIPC)

them. However, each phase has impacted on curriculum development of the universities over the years.

The educational system in Ghana (Gold Coast) in the 1950s centred on two basic goals: the first was to increase the quality and relevance of education to socio-economic development, and the second was to provide the needed human resource base to facilitate the accelerated development of the nation. According to Sutherland-Addy though a westernised form of education still dominated the educational system, the educational philosophy during this period specifically, aimed at “firstly, the reestablishment of the dignity of the African and secondly, the rapid modernization of the economy” (2010: 6). Thus, the curriculum aimed at equipping students to understand their socio-economic and cultural environment and to instil confidence and pride in the students’ heritage.

Since independence, there have been four major educational reforms. These are the 1961, 1967, 1987 and 2007 educational reforms. There have also been various reviews of the education system, and these include 1966, 1974, 1993 and 2002. However, as Tonah (2009) indicates, in Ghana, it is difficult to differentiate between educational reforms and educational reviews. Some reviews have ended up being reforms and the terms are sometimes used interchangeably.

In preparation for independence, the then Prime Minister, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, embarked on the 1951 Accelerated Development plan. This plan aimed at not just ensuring that every child went to school, but to ‘accelerate the process’ (McWilliam and Kwamena-Poh, 1975). A striking feature of the Accelerated Development Plan was its focus on primary education. Though the government faced criticism that it would lower the quality of education, and also enhance inequality as the few areas with schools would benefit, the government remained undaunted.

In 1961, a new Education Act was passed. Most significantly the Act was to provide legal backing to the changes involved with the Accelerated Development Plan,

especially, with free compulsory education (McWilliams and Kwamena-Poh, 1975). Another significant feature of this reform was the expansion of the higher educational system in the country. This was the period when the University College of the Gold Coast and the Kumasi College of Technology were upgraded to universities. The University of Cape Coast was also established. The establishment of the Institute of African Studies was another important aspect of this reform. The Institute was to be ‘the main focus of research and post graduate teaching of all the universities in Ghana ‘in the whole range of African studies (in McWilliam and Kwamena-Poh, 1975: 107).

In the early 1970s the educational system was perceived as inefficient leading to the establishment of the Dzobo Educational Review Committee to review and recommend appropriate education for the nation. The report of the Dzobo Committee resulted in the 1974 educational reform. Among others, the educational reform sought to make education very practical to the needs of the nation and to equip the youth with relevant skills for employment. The emphasis of curriculum development under the reform was to promote science and technology and to make the youth more self-reliant. However, various factors external and internal did not enhance improvement of the educational systems from the late 1970s through a greater part of the 1980s. It was argued by external forces spearheaded by the World Bank that in Africa, it was more beneficial to invest in primary and vocational education instead of universities (Ajayi, *et. al.*, 1996; Coombe, 1991). They argued that investing in basic education and vocational education would ensure mass education and the eradication of unemployment and poverty. Investing in primary education also fits the global agenda of education for all. The low priority given to tertiary education led to great deterioration of the universities and the curriculum agendas that they had held.

In 1987, a new educational reform was introduced. The reform changed the structure and content of primary and secondary education (Girdwood, 1999). It also sought to remedy the deteriorated conditions of the universities. It set out to control the quality

and relevance of teaching, learning and curriculum within a self-regulatory framework (WP. p.2). During this period, many governmental bodies were established to assess the programmes to be pursued in the various higher educational institutions (Girdwood, 1999: 11). For instance, though the universities preserved the right of developing their curriculum, the programmes had to be assessed and approved by the NCTE and the NAB. According to Girdwood (1999) though the reform was broad, visionary, internationally widely acclaimed, the project was ‘marginally successful’ (Girdwood, 1999: x). Some of the reasons given by Girdwood included the failure of both the URC and policy-makers, to define ‘academic quality’ as well as the methodology to be used to ensure quality. There were little clarifications on teaching aims, objectives and modalities of delivery and assessment within the institutions (Ibid).

With the assumption of a new government in 2000, various frameworks, strategies, policies and reports were introduced to achieve desirable educational goals and achieve the goal of Ghana becoming a middle income country by the year 2015. In May 2003, the Ministry of Education published the Education Strategic Plan (ESP) 2003-2015, as one of the strategies of poverty alleviation programmes in Ghana. The ESP, among other objectives, was designed to provide relevant education to all Ghanaians at all levels to enable them to acquire skills that will assist them to develop their potentials, and be productive. These objectives were to facilitate poverty reduction and to promote national socio-economic growth’ (MOE, 2003: 27).

In 2007, another educational reform was introduced to ensure the ‘formation of well-balanced individuals with the requisite knowledge, skills, values, aptitudes and attitudes to become functional and productive (Government White Paper on Educational Reforms, 2007: 5.0). The reform also aimed at developing Ghana as a knowledge based, scientific and technologically driven society. In terms of tertiary education, there was the emphasis to enhance research and postgraduate programmes. An open university was also to be

established. According to Tonah (2009) however, in the context of previous reforms, which achieved little, it was less likely the 2007 education reform will achieve its stated aims and objectives.

The National Democratic Congress (NDC) Party led by John Evans Atta Mills assumed power in 2008. This government introduced the 'Better Ghana Agenda' educational policies. Though no new reform has been introduced, the policy goal of 'the Better Ghana Agenda' aimed to enhance 'access, quality, equity and relevance at the tertiary level through a number of strategies' (Official website of the Better Ghana Agenda). Many academics and students have expressed concern about the seemingly political nature of educational reforms (for example, Tonah, 2009). As Tonah (2009) reiterates, the reform of education in Ghana is more of a 'political programme rather than a well-planned and realistic attempt to resolve the challenges facing the education system'.

The Socio-economic context

Ghana has a population of 25 million with about 100 ethnic groups. The predominant group is Akans who comprise 47.5% of the population (Ghana Statistical Service [GSS] 2012). This is followed by the Mole Dagbani (16.6%), the Ewe (13.9%) and Ga-Dangme (7.4%) (Ibid).

Ghana is one of the fastest growing economies in Sub-Saharan Africa' (World Bank, 2011). The country achieved lower middle income status in 2011 (World Bank website) though there is much poverty in the country. Nonetheless, Ghana is ahead of poverty alleviation and some of the other goals spelt out in the 2015 MDG objectives (Cato, 2008). But as indicated in the various State of the Nation addresses (2013, 2012, 2011)¹⁰, much still needs to be done for this 'progress' to be reflected in the lives of the people. Twenty three percent of the population aged three years and above has never been

¹⁰ The State of the Nation addresses are 'constitutional mandate given to the President of the Republic of Ghana to annually present a State of the Nation report to Parliament' (State of the nation address, 2011).

to school (GSS, 2012). The country presently still has many goals, including the Millennium Development Goals and the Education for All agenda. The vision 2020 is a long-term agenda for Ghana to become a middle-income country by the year 2020 (Government of Ghana {GOG}, 2010) and it involves a number of strategies. There has also been an emphasis on the need for Ghana to promote its cultural and indigenous systems.

To achieve these national goals various documents emphasise the need for the educational institutions to provide quality and relevant knowledge (Government White Paper on Educational Reforms, 2007; MOE, 2003). This expectation has resulted in many of the educational reforms described above.

In spite of all these policies and efforts, a major study undertaken by Higher Education Research and Advocacy Network in Africa (HERANA) in eight African countries, described by the University World News (2011) as ‘one of the most comprehensive studies’ confirms the limited specific roles of the universities in Ghana. The study conducted by Bailey *et.al.*, was to explore the role of higher education in development as articulated at the national and institutional levels, whether these are articulated in relevant documents, and ‘the extent to which specific structures have been established to give intent of the policies’ (2011: 28). For both government and the institutions, the orientation seems to be more on a traditional approach to producing human resources for the economy and poverty alleviation (Bailey *et. al.*, 2011: 106-107).

As indicated in the 2007 educational reforms, nationally, Ghana aims to be a knowledge economy (Government White Paper on Educational Reforms 2007; GOG, 2010). However, at the national level, the roles of the university do not seem to be emphasised. Various speeches by policy makers seem to emphasise the challenges of the universities and the provisions being made for them. For example, none of the state of the nation addresses by the various presidents since 2007, touched on the essential roles of the

universities in economic development. The governments rather emphasised the importance of the private sector as an important partner in the socio economic development of the nation.

Conclusion

To provide the contextual background of my research, I have discussed aspects of the historical, political, social-economic and educational context of higher education in Ghana. I will conclude this chapter by referring to Mudimbe. He observed that:

Although in African history the colonial experience represents but a brief moment from the perspective of today...it signified a new historical form and the possibility of radically new types of discourses on African traditions and culture (Mudimbe, 1988: 1).

Currently, the wider educational, social, political and economic systems of Ghana are modelled after Western societies, and so are the university educational systems. As indicated in chapter one, various reforms, policies and strategies have been introduced to enhance the relevance of the Ghanaian educational systems to the needs of the country with varying but limited rate of success.

CHAPTER THREE

A REVIEW OF KEY CONCEPTS

Introduction

Significant changes have occurred in higher education worldwide impacting on the roles, expectations and challenges of these institutions. A significant aspect of these changes is the emphasis on international positioning of universities. There is a great emphasis on exchange of knowledge, resources and values across universities worldwide. Though these changes have taken place differently, across different international contexts, as attested by many writers, they are underpinned by certain major concepts including globalisation of capital and the spread of neoliberal policies (Burke, 2012; Dale 2007; Harris 2011; Knight, 2008; Naidoo, 2010). In response, there has been a great deal of literature critiquing neoliberal policies for their detrimental effect on education, effectively turning education into a commodity like any other to be exchanged in a market place. A concern has been the extent to which a market economy has become a market society where the economic value is privileged over other values. In addition, a burgeoning of literature has expressed concern at how principles and practices associated with the marketisation of education negatively affect many non-western societies, especially former colonies of European countries.

In the context of these concerns, and to enhance development of these ex-colonies, the postcolonial theory has emerged. Postcolonial theory, according to Rizvi *et. al.*, has been used to “name” ‘the residual, persistent and on-going effects of European colonization...’ (2006: 249). It tries to bring out the history and legacy of colonialism, developing an understanding of how colonial legacies continue to shape most of contemporary discourses and policies. Relatedly, in the African region, some academics mainly in southern Africa have intensified the call for Africanisation of Africa’s higher

educational institutions (Botha, 2007; Botha, 2010; Brock-Utne, 2002; Labakeng, *et. al.* 2006; Mboug, 2008). Although the call for Africanisation of higher educational institutions has been reiterated since the independence of many African nations, not many of its related aims have been achieved (Brock-Utne, 1999, 2002; Crossman, 2004; Matos 2000).

This chapter presents a critical review of the literature on these contesting and major issues of higher education. The chapter will be in four sections. The first section will discuss internationalisation, the second, globalisation, the third neoliberalism, and the fourth, the concept of ‘Africanisation’. In each of the sections, the impact on the higher educational institutions in Ghana will be discussed.

The Internationalisation agenda

This section is in four parts. The first part looks at the definitional issues of internationalisation; the second discusses its rationales; the third considers the approaches and strategies of internationalisation, whilst the fourth discusses its challenges and tensions. It is to the definitional issues that I now turn my attention.

Definitional issues

Though ‘Internationalisation’ has assumed an increasingly important position in universities around the world, it is a problematic term the meanings of which keep changing with time and space. De Wit (2010) indicates that presently, both in literature and in practice, the term ‘internationalisation of higher education’ is used mainly to describe only a small part of internationalisation or to emphasise a specific rationale for embarking on internationalisation. The term is often used, he notes, in relation to the curriculum or to student mobility. An internationalised curriculum could include, amongst other things, international studies, global studies, multicultural education, intercultural education, and peace education. Student mobility usually relates to study abroad or education abroad.

Some writers (for example, Altbach, 2004; Altbach and Knight, 2007; De Wit,

2011; Gacel-Ávila, 2006) also draw attention to the way in which the terms globalisation and internationalisation are sometimes used interchangeably. However, as indicated by Altbach and Knight these concepts are ‘related but are not the same thing’ (2007: 290). They define globalisation as, ‘the economic, political, and societal forces pushing 21st century higher education toward greater international involvement (Ibid: 290). They also perceive internationalisation as including ‘the policies and practices undertaken by academic systems and institutions—and even individuals—to cope with the global academic environment’ (Ibid). Knight again perceives internationalisation as ‘a process of integrating an international and cultural dimension into the teaching, research and service functions of the institution’ (2008: 19). Knight again, indicates that whilst ‘internationalisation is changing the world of higher education, globalisation is changing the world of internationalisation,’ (2004: 1).

Gacel-Ávila (2006) has also indicated that internationalisation, unlike globalisation, refers to and emphasises the relationship between and among different countries and nations. It ‘promotes recognition of and respect for their own differences and traditions’ (Ibid: 124). According to Knight, global ‘refers to worldwide in scope and substance, and does not highlight the concept of nation’ (2004: 8). Thus while internationalisation tends to emphasise diversity, globalisation leads to homogeneity and possible hegemony.

Scott observes that both internationalisation and globalisation are complex phenomena with many strands, and concludes that “the distinction between internationalisation and globalisation, although suggestive, cannot be regarded as categorical. They overlap, and are intertwined, in all kinds of ways” (2006: 14). Whatever the definition or meaning attached to it, internationalisation is perceived as a major aspect of globalisation, with a major impact on higher education (Altbach and Knight 2007; Altbach, Reisberg and Rumbley, 2009; Harris 2008, 2011).

Rationales of internationalisation

Rationales for internationalisation, like its meanings, vary from country to country, institution to institution and according to particular times. Such variations, according to many writers (De Wit, 2010; Knight, 2004), depend on many factors including historical, economic, political and socio-cultural positioning of the universities. In many institutions, however, five major rationales are presently identified (Knight, 2004; De Wit, 2010). These are the economic, the political, the social, the cultural and the academic. These rationales are not exclusive of each other but are very interrelated (Ibid). Presently, with the emergence of what Harris describes as ‘Neoliberal universities’ (neoliberalism is discussed later in the chapter) a major emphasis of internationalisation is the economic rationale. This rationale emphasises financial rewards and competition. These according to Naidoo, are linked to the perception of higher education as a ‘lucrative service that can be sold in the global market place’ (2007: 250).

The economic rationales include satisfying the labour market, financial incentives and competitiveness. The economic rationales according to many authors are more emphasised in present internationalisation and globalisation policies. The political rationale involves issues relating to foreign relations and policy, peace and mutual understanding between and among nations. The social rationale involves students’ and academics’ exposure to international environment, relating to the new environment and making friends. The cultural rationale is concerned with intercultural recognition, acceptance and appreciation. The academic rationale involves integration of an international and intercultural dimension in research, teaching and services in the institutions. It also involves international exposure of the academic and development of an international profile and status of the institution.

Knight (2008) identifies emerging rationales both at the national and institutional levels. At the national level, these include human resource development, strategic

alliances, income generation, nation building, social/cultural development and mutual understanding. At the institutional level, they include international branding and profile, quality enhancement and international standards, income generation, student and staff development, strategic alliances and knowledge production. According to Teichler (2004) there is also a growing emphasis on marketisation and competition.

Approaches and strategies to internationalisation

Not surprisingly perhaps, given what has been said above, there are differences in the approaches and strategies to internationalisation. De Wit (2010), in his work on ‘internationalisation of higher education in Europe and its assessment, trends and issues’, indicates that internationalisation strategies adopted by particular institutions are based on the contextual characteristics of the institution. These include historical, geographical, economic, political, socio-cultural, and academic advantages. Knight (2004) distinguishes between programme strategies and organisational strategies at the institutional level. The programme strategies comprise academic programmes and research and scholarly collaborations while the organisational strategies involve governance and operations.

Knighht also distinguishes between internationalisation at home and internationalisation abroad. The former involves activities that help students to develop international understanding and intercultural learning. It is curriculum-oriented involving curriculum and programmes, teaching and learning processes, extra-curricular activities, liaison with local cultural/ethnic groups, and research and scholarly activities (Knight, 2008). The latter includes all forms of education across borders: mobility of students and faculty, and mobility of projects, programs and providers. These types of internationalisation are however, not to be seen as mutually exclusive but are intertwined in their policies and programmes.

As indicated earlier, internationalisation is perceived as a very important concept in

national and institutional policies. In September 2010, participants from many European countries held what they perceived as ‘an open, critical and constructive discussion on the state of higher education in Europe as part of the 10th anniversary of the Bologna process. The Bologna process is ‘a European reform process aimed at creating the European Higher Education Area...based on international cooperation and academic exchange that is attractive to European students and staff as well as to students and staff from other parts of the world’ (The Bologna process website). At this conference to discuss the state of higher education in Europe based on the Bologna process, it was reiterated that internationalisation enhances concerted effort in addressing some of the societal problems (Bologna Process-European Higher education Area, 2010). They mentioned that ‘We are living in uncertain times, and face many common global challenges that can only be tackled across national boundaries’ (Ibid).

Though the Bologna process is presumably concerned mainly with European countries, with the influence of Western countries and organisations such as the World Bank, many non-European countries have adopted its demands (Khelfaoui, 2009). In Ghana, a major focus of most of the public universities is how to reposition themselves in the international arena. Various strategies have been developed to enhance the international position of the universities.

The challenges, questions and tensions

From various definitions including Knight (2008), one might expect a cultural dimension to be present. However, it appears that is not presently the focus of internationalisation. The observation of Harris about internationalisation reflects much of my experiences as an international student. She argues that internationalisation:

...is strongly associated with an economic rather than a cultural imperative.

Although student international societies may abound, often there is little inter-

cultural exchange between societies or with academic departments; there is a danger of both a ghettoisation and an exoticisation of difference (2008: 348).

In my experiences as an international student both in the Netherlands and the United Kingdom (UK), the curriculum, both implicitly and explicitly, hardly emphasised culture related issues. It appears the main avenue for inter cultural exchange is through interaction with colleagues, which at the postgraduate level, and especially at the PhD level, I will say is quite minimal.

Again, with the economic imperative driving the international dimension, many writers have expressed the unequal impact of internationalisation on universities in developing countries (Unterhalter and Carpentier, 2010). Mobility has become a major component of the internationalisation process of higher education. However, as Unterhalter and Carpentier observed, mobility has ‘generally not lessened the problem of inequalities within and between countries...merely provided a new perspective from which they can be viewed’ (2010). Over 84% of international students are enrolled in OECD countries (with North America and Western Europe leading) compared to 2.28% in sub-Saharan Africa (Ibid).

Similar to the observations by Unterhalter and Carpentier on mobility, Altbach and Knight (2007) identified profit as one of the main objectives of internationalisation. In terms of student recruitment for instance, many countries in the developed world derive great financial benefits. They are able to recruit many students from the South and charge high fees (Ibid). In addition to paying fees, international graduate students provide research and teaching services for modest compensation. These can hardly be said of universities in developing countries. These universities are confronted with various historical, economic and infrastructural problems; they can hardly compete with the universities in the North.

During a BBC Africa Live Radio Phone In in September 2003, one speaker said:

All those who think that an African university degree is as good as a Western one are fooling themselves. They do not even have enough money for food, let alone pursue higher knowledge. If I have a choice I know which one I will choose (Ken Ng, Australia, BBC news website).

A look at the international students recruited in the biggest university in Ghana gives a significant reflection of what happens in other universities in the country. This University has a comparative advantage over other institutions in attracting international students: it is the oldest, biggest and located in the national capital. However, international students make up only about three per cent of the student population.

In terms of the World University ranking, since 2010, no African University has been among the top 200 universities, with the exception of University of Cape Town which placed 107, 103, and 113 in the 2010-2011, 2011-2012 and 2012-2013 academic years, respectively. But, it should be noted, this institution has a different legacy compared to other African universities. It is a historically White University. No university from the continent has been in the top 100. Sean Coughlan, a BBC News education correspondent, examined UNESCO statistics, and found that there are over 4.5 million students in Africa, and wondered why, in terms of world ranking, they become 'invisible'. University rankings however:

Have become the benchmark for many students to select degree courses, academics to guide career decisions, research teams to choose collaborative partners and university administrators improve their performance and tool to identify strategic priority. It also guides governments in setting national and higher education policies, (World ranking website, March, 2013).

This benchmark indicates that African universities may continue to lag behind with little hope in sight. A major related challenge is that most of the initiatives and programmes, are from the North to the South. Since African indigenous systems are not emphasised in the international arena, most of the relevant knowledge as indicated by Knight and Altabach (2007), are owned by the Northern institutions and corporations. Universities in the developing countries find it difficult to emphasise programmes and projects to be pursued, for instance through international collaborations.

The unequal advantage of the North over the South is also perceived in terms of academic mobility. Though according to Altbach and Knight, ‘contemporary emphasis on free trade stimulates international academic mobility’, and academic mobility is one of the hallmarks of internationalisation and globalisation, few academics will move from the North to the South, especially to Sub Saharan Africa to work (2007: 291). And few academics from the South will have the ‘opportunity’ to work in many of the prestigious universities in the North (Altbach and Knight, 2007).

Even in terms of graduate mobility, there is also a challenge. Developing the global citizen able to work in different countries is one of the main agendas of universities in Ghana. However, Reich (1992) distinguishes between type of workers or occupation in an international market: production service workers, in-person service workers and symbolic-analytic service workers. The routine worker involves blue colour workers, white colour workers and supervisors. In-person service workers involve those who engage in simple repetitive routines and are intensively supervised. The symbolic-analytic service workers include strategic workers, highly skilled and paid workers including scientists, researchers, engineers etc. Reich (1992) maintains that it is only symbolic analysts who contribute great value and may be demanded by the internationalised economy. Many universities from the South find it difficult to produce such highly skilled people in greater numbers. It is still important to say that it is equally difficult for graduates from the South to find

highly skilled employment in the North. And even if they find employment, in most cases, they are less likely to be paid as their White colleagues or counterparts (Hills *et.al.* 2010 cited in Burke, 2012). The reverse is true in developing countries. In these countries, people from the North are more likely to find jobs and be paid much higher than the locals.

Another major challenge is the use of English as a global language. Altbach, Reisberg and Rumbley indicate that the ‘rise of English as the dominant language of scientific communication is unprecedented since Latin dominated the academy in medieval Europe’ (2009, 7). English is used in most settings and communications (Harris, 2011). According to Brock-Utne (2002) no university in Sub-Saharan Africa has an indigenous African language as the official language of instruction. Harris (2007; 2011) has identified some of the effects of emphasising the English language as not only submerging other cultures, but creating difficulties for students in interpretations and grasping certain concepts in their studies.

In spite of these challenges and as indicated above, almost all the universities in Ghana consider the need to do what universities in the Western countries are doing as a necessity. The need to ‘follow international standards’ appears to be a cliché in the universities. It is assumed that this will increase the competitiveness of the universities, increase their prestige and enhance intercultural learning. It is also a source of economic gain to many of the universities (Altbach and Knight, 2007). In the field, some of the respondents showed certain infrastructural materials they obtained through collaborations with Western universities. Again, the rate of infrastructural development in some of the universities and new academic programmes introduced are impressive just as they are important. One cannot help but admire such changes, many of which result from certain neoliberal practices including business ventures of the universities and marketisation of university programmes, and even wish for more.

Many questions however arise in the effort of the universities to follow 'international standards'. The questions include 'whose standards are considered international'? How will the universities achieve these standards given their limited resources and dependency on external institutions? Foreign donors and partners sponsor almost every single conference or any other major event organised by many African universities. How can universities in Africa compete with universities in the West when the African universities do not own any aspect of the global knowledge systems (Altbach and Knight, 2007)? How can universities in Ghana, a country which is struggling to attain middle income status by 2020 have the same goals as universities in Supra power nations such as the United Kingdom and United States. It looks quite obvious that there are striking differences between the developmental needs of developing countries and their developed counterparts. It is interesting that Ghanaian universities are adopting marketing strategies to portray competition among the institutions. Due to poor infrastructure and inadequate facilities, the universities are unable to admit even one-third of qualified applicants. Instead of the universities prioritising how they can widen access and adopt programmes to enhance the socio-economic development of the societies, they seem to be emphasising competition as universities in developed countries, which are operating under different sets of conditions. With reforms to enhance access and equity but underpinned and juxtaposed with neoliberal assumptions and policies, many academics have argued that these reforms tend to widen inequalities and heighten stratification in society (Burke, 2012; Naidoo, 2010; Torres, 2009a).

In Ghana, distance education programmes have been embarked upon by some of the universities to enhance access; it is also seen as income generation by the universities (Mensah and Owusu-Mensah, 2002). Students in distance education programmes could also be given differential treatment from regular students. Sarpong (2009), has cited, for instance, financial needs as a major challenge affecting students in distance education

programmes. His findings indicate that while the government subsidise students in the various Teacher training colleges, those enrolled in distance education do not enjoy these benefits. Again, though there are few studies to assess how graduates of the distance education programmes compete in the job market created, it could be argued that many who participate in these programmes would be perceived as not ‘too good’ academically. This is because, though many of them qualify, limited facilities at the universities limit their access to the universities. It is assumed the universities pick the ‘best’ for the limited space available and leave the rest of applicants to look for alternative institutions.

Due to such challenges, many academics have expressed concern about generalising and oversimplifying issues when dealing with globalisation. Van Damme (2001), for example, argues that, ‘globalisation in higher education does not necessarily imply international standardisation and uniformity, but...balancing the global and the local’ (p.4).

I end this section by saying that in a world of sustained increasing connectivity, the complexities of conceptualising internationalisation need to be explored not only in relation to higher education but all levels of education. It is important however, that with the dominance of the economic and the market dimensions, internationalisation equally emphasises cultural dimensions. I will say the cultural dimension gives meaning and distinctiveness to the wider debate of higher education. It is especially important for universities not only in Ghana, but in Africa to take advantage of globalisation and internationalisation to emphasise the uniqueness of Africa.

Globalisation

Globalisation is a concept that is interpreted and defined in different ways (Knight, 2006; Moloi, *et. al.*, 2009; Naidoo, 2010). Beerkens cautions against perceiving it from one dimension or as having been driven by one cause. As he explains, people use previous

experiences and realities as a point of reference or ‘a point of departure’ in defining the concept (2003: 129). However, in this context of discussion, the definition of Knight (2010) will be my main point of reference. Knight defines globalisation as a “process that is increasing the flow of people, culture, ideas, values, knowledge, technology, and economy across borders resulting in a more interconnected and interdependent world” (Knight: 45). Some major questions which underlie the discussion in this chapter are whether the ‘flow’ is specifically from a particular direction to another specific direction, or if the ‘flow’ involves an exchange, and/or whether such a ‘flow’ benefits all nations alike. Other questions include whether in the course of flow, as indicated by Nyamnjoh, there are ‘accelerated closures’ and ‘intensifying reality of borders, divisions and violent strategies’ of exclusion as well (2004: 38). He cites Geschiere and Meyer:

It looks as if, in a world characterised by flows, a great deal of energy is devoted to controlling and freezing them: grasping the flux often actually entails a politics of ‘fixing’ - a politics which is, above all, operative in struggles about the construction of identities’ (1998: 605).

While globalisation is not a new phenomenon, it appears to have assumed greater significance in the last two decades. According to Torres, it is perceived as ‘blurring national boundaries, shifting solidarities within and between nation states, and deeply affecting the constitutions of national and interest group identities’ (2009a: 24).

The World Bank influences many international discourses, dominant terminologies and operational definitions of variables (Torres, 2002). For instance, poverty has been defined as living below one dollar a day, however, it can be understood in different terms depending on the social and cultural context. It could, for instance, be that in a particular society riches are determined by the number of children and farmlands one has. The number of children and farmlands as a measure of riches may sound outrageous, but if that

is what gives happiness, then it cannot be readily dismissed. Various financial, economic, and educational policies and goals are set by international institutions such as the World Bank (WB), the International Monetary Bank (IMF) and the United Nations Educational Scientific Organisation (UNESCO). International goals, including the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and the various structural adjustment policies, such as privatization and deregulation, are examples of other policy convergences. As indicated by Harvey (2005), economies are structured according to the theories of IMF instead of individual national circumstances. UNESCO also sets educational targets for many countries especially in Sub-Saharan Africa (Lulat, 2005).

In the context of these global policies, and to be on the ‘safer’ side, it is not surprising that many African countries are making efforts to adopt the Bologna process of European Higher Education (World Education News and Reviews, 2007). An international conference on ‘the African Universities Adaptation to the Bologna process’ took place in Lumbumbashi in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). On the page for the call for proposals for the conference it was written:

After a long period of hesitation, African universities choose, one after the other, to adapt to the architecture of studies organisation which has been promoted since 1999 by the Bologna process. In the South, the changeover is not simple: the model is imported from the North, there is no preliminary consultation between the European and the African universities on the characteristics it should have in order to be adapted to the economic, cultural and social context and needs of these two regions of the world. The European universities have adopted an organisation of the studies which they impose on their African counterparts, who are led to model themselves on them.

The above quotation indicates how many of the universities perceive the Bologna process as an imposition. This is even though some writers including Huisman, *et. al.* (2012) have

described the adoption of Bologna process in African countries as cooperation between the West and some of the African universities. I argue that even if the Bologna model is not imposed by the West, international financial organisations and institutions, as was indicated on the website for the ‘call of papers’, are in favour of the adjustment of African universities to the model. Moreover, external incentives could be derived by African universities who adopt the model.

The influence of national policies is not limited to these international organisations but world leaders. At the Summit of the Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting in Australia in 2011, David Cameron, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, emphatically stated that aid would be cut to developing countries which do not ‘adhere to proper human rights’, and that is, countries which do not recognise gay rights. It will be an understatement to say that his comment has created a lot of fury, bitterness, and tension in the Ghanaian context, and indeed it was debated in the media for a long time. This is because, homosexuality is perceived by many Ghanaians as a taboo in the Ghanaian tradition. But in a world of globalisation, such local traditions do not seem to matter; what are perceived as human rights cut across the globe (Torres, 2009a).

A major impact of globalisation worldwide on educational institutions, especially higher education, is the globalisation of capital and free market policies, where knowledge becomes an important asset or product. Van Damme (2001), for example, identified four impacts of globalisation on higher education: the universities are conceived as knowledge centres; there is a higher demand for higher education worldwide; the submersion of national regulatory and policy frameworks in which universities are embedded; and the emergence of the borderless higher education system.

Such impacts have also generated various reforms in institutions (Carnoy, 1999; Torres, 2009a). Torres (2009a), in expressing his indignation about the negative impact of globalisation on education reiterated that such reforms are based on competition, finance

and equity agendas. The competition based reforms he argues, involve how the schools could 'produce' professionally competent graduates to compete in national and international labour markets. These types of reforms emphasise new teaching and learning techniques, and norms and standards that could achieve competitive graduates at a cheaper cost. The financial based reforms involve budget restrictions, and privatizations. And as Torres indicates, these are spearheaded by the IMF and the World Bank. The equity based reforms seek to enhance social mobility and equity by providing educational opportunities to the perceived disadvantage in society, including the poor and females.

In Ghana, such reforms have been witnessed at various levels of the educational system and the genesis of these reforms could be traced to structural adjustment programmes adopted by the government in 1983. Since then various governments have adopted these policies. Some of the conditions and policies attached to these programmes include cuts in government subvention, wealth creation, privatization, emphasis on primary education, and implementation of packages of deep austerity measures in an effort to balance national budgets (Lulat, 2005). Policies on efficiency, financial appropriation and gender development, among others, have also been pursued at all educational levels.

In the public universities, the effects of these adjustment programmes and the need to follow global dictates have led to various strategic reforms in the last decade. These reforms centre on changes in mission statements, changes in administrative structures, introduction of competitive and fee paying programmes, cost sharing, infrastructure improvement, and emphasis on wealth creation. In his report about changes that have occurred in the university within his tenure, the then Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cape Coast stated:

There exists a global trend among institutions of higher learning to reform and restructure in order to enhance their efficiency and effectiveness in meeting the

demands of the global world. The University of Cape Coast cannot be left out (Obeng, 2009: 5).

In terms of programmes, the universities have expanded the scope of teaching, learning and research to respond ‘meaningfully and effectively to the emerging challenges and opportunities of the new global world’ (Ibid: 7).

For instance, the same Vice Chancellor, reiterated that the emphasis of the then Government of the New Patriotic Party, led by Agyekum Kuffour on ‘wealth creation and promotion of indigenous business’ was also another reason for strategic changes in the University (Ibid: 3). It is important to say also that though these changes aimed at ‘the need for the University to benefit from globalisation’ they also aimed at satisfying local needs, including promoting access and enhancing relationship with industries (Ibid).

Many writers, however, have reiterated the unequal impact of globalisation on various nations depending on the nation’s individual history, traditions, culture and priorities (Knight Altbach, 2007; Gordon, 2005; Naidoo, 2007; Unterhalter and Carpentier, 2010). Knight and Altbach for instance indicate that ‘Globalisation tends to concentrate wealth, knowledge and power in those already possessing these elements’ (2007: 291). The economic ‘solutions’ to national and international inequality and poverty as practised by the IMF and the World Bank have ‘the feel of the colonial ruler’ (Bhabha 2009: xvi).

Thus, though equity, democracy and world economic integration and cohesion seem to be the implication of globalisation, it does not seem so in practice (Gordon, 2005; Shiva, 2000; Naidoo, 2010). Some commentators have argued that in the end, globalisation becomes a tool to exploit poorer countries by richer countries (Lee, 2007; Moloi *et. al.*, 2009; Slabbert, 2003; Stiglitz, 2002). The Secretary-General of the OECD, Angel Gurría, in her opening remarks delivered at the Policy Dialogue on Aid for Trade in January, 2013, acknowledged the unequal impact of globalisation.

She stated that:

Pursuing an inclusive globalisation — one that can combine economic dynamism with social equity in a sustainable way for the populations of both the advanced and the developing world — should remain our main objective.

Among the objectives, the OECD wishes to help less developed countries with their exports and trade related infrastructure. With such initiatives, it is hoped these countries will ‘capture the benefits from globalisation’ (Ibid). However, it is argued that neoliberal ideas inform the globalisation discourse (for example, Harris, 2007; Torres 2009a). Torres actually describes globalisation as ‘Neoliberal globalisation’ (2009a; vix). According to Desjardins, though we are in an era of intense inter-national activities and relations, ‘it is unlikely that we would see the increased cross-border activity that we see today without the emergence of the neoliberal doctrine’ (2013: 184). In the next section I discuss neoliberalism and its impact on public universities in Ghana.

Neoliberalism

Neoliberalism, like globalisation, has many definitions and interpretations (Campbell and Pedersen, 2001). Harvey, for example, defines Neoliberalism as, ‘a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human wellbeing can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets and free trade’ (2005: 2). Campbell and Pedersen on the other hand, define neoliberalism as:

...a heterogeneous set of institutions consisting of various ideas, social and economic policies, and ways of organising political and economic activity. Ideally, it includes formal institutions, such as minimalist welfare-state...and the absence of barriers to international capital mobility. It includes institutionalised normative principles favouring free-market solutions to economic problems, rather than

bargaining or indicative planning, and a dedication to controlling inflation even at the expense of full employment. (2001: 5).

Though, there are different definitions and interpretations of neoliberalism, a common trend seems to manifest in all the definitions: the centrality and emphasis of the market. It is believed that competitive market provides the best avenue for addressing needs of individuals and the efficient allocation and utilisation of resources (Fourcode and Healy, 2007). Neoliberalism is also characterised by other assumptions, beliefs and practices which I will discuss in the next session.

Characteristics of neoliberalism

Mudge (2008) identifies three faces of neoliberalism. These faces are the intellectual face, the bureaucratic face and the political face. The intellectual face according to him involves 'transnationality' but hegemony of Anglo-American societies and the endorsement of the supremacy of the perception of the market. The Bureaucratic face involves national policies associated with the market-centric views, including privatisation, deregulation and depoliticisation. The bureaucratic face also limits the government's involvement in the market and encourages competition. According to Torres (2011), 'neoliberal governments' emphasise open markets, decreased public spending and reduced state intervention in the market (p. 184). Neoliberal principles also expect governments to spend less in providing social services including education and health care and rather propose for these services to be privatised. Indeed in the context, the 'notion of the 'private (and privatisation) is glorified...' (Ibid). The political face involves the responsibility of the government to provide the right conditions and environment for the thriving of the market.

Though as attested by Desjardins (2013), the neoliberal challenges may not be universal, many of these characteristics, I would argue are manifested in many countries and higher institutions around the world. The hegemony of the Anglo- American societies

has been discussed under the section of globalisation. The next section focuses on the development of market-centric principles in the universities.

Emergence of the 'entrepreneur' university

Many writers have emphasised the dominance of neoliberalism (Harris, 2008; Torres, 2009, 2011). According to Harris (2009), the dominance of neoliberalism in the present world is such that 'it is difficult to think outside of its black box' (p. 4). Torres, expressing his concern about the changes and challenges of public universities in the context of global capitalism, indicates that though:

Neoliberalism has utterly failed as a viable model of economic development, yet the politics of culture associated with neoliberalism is still in force, becoming the new common sense shaping the role of government and education (2011, p. 177)

Thus Torres argued that whilst neoliberalism has not been a successful economic tool, it has become the common sense of dealing with situations (Ibid).

Institutions of higher education have not escaped the tentacles of neoliberalism (Harris, 2008; Torres, 2009; 2011). According to Torres, 'neoliberalism has created "a new common sense" that has percolated into all public and private institutions and thus, despite their own autonomy, into institutions of higher education' (2011: 183). There is now the emergence of what Harris (2008) describes as 'neoliberal' universities. The neoliberal university is characterised by sustained market-like behaviour and governance (Ibid). These universities are characterised by 'instrumental reasoning...competitiveness, excellence and performance' (Ibid: 347). For instance, universities all over the world now seem engrossed in how to restructure the curriculum to attract funding and both national and international students.

Critiques of these market-centric principles in the university have been expressed by many writers (Currie, *et. al.* 2002; Harris, 2011; Munene, 2007; Naidoo, 2010). Universities are ‘adopting almost without reflection, without hesitation, global practices that emanate from neoliberal economic policies....’ (Currie *et. al.*, 2002: 3). Such corporate practices include advertisement and election of Vice Chancellors, privatisation of subjects and embarking on business activities in the universities (Munene, 2007). Others include, absence of collegial decision making, limited access to the information base on which decisions can be made, many decisions made in secret and administrators ‘now reading management books written for the corporate world, which explain how managers can bring about reforms quickly’ (Currie *et. al.* 2002: 5).

There is what Torres and Jones describe as ‘an assault on education and knowledge...’ (2013: 180). Knowledge is instrumentalised to serve ‘purely the purposes of economic growth, often at the expense of democracy, justice or fairness’ (Ibid). Education is seen as the conduit for mainly economic growth and standards of living (Desjardins, 2013). Such reasoning has even impacted on students’ choices of main subjects to study at the university. As Jones (2013) indicates, students have to study majors that will have the highest investment return. Values and purposes of individuals attending a higher educational institution are determined purely by economic reasons.

Another major critique is how these instrumental thoughts have projected competition as a highly espoused value in education, especially, higher education. According to Desjardins, ‘...the philosophy underlying education is rapidly being replaced with the meaner, harder logic of competition on a global scale’ (2013: 188). Such reasoning, as emphasised earlier creates many challenges including the type of knowledge emphasised and even working conditions and relations in the institutions.

There is again the problem of inequalities. Many writers have linked sustained inequalities among nations to global dominance of neoliberalism (Harris, 2007; Desjardins, 2013; Torres and Jones, 2013). In the neoliberal world, the rich get richer, and the poor get poorer. However, the individual, and not the society, is blamed for these inequalities (Desjardins 2013).

Four code and Healy (2007) in a review of how present scholarship perceives the relationship between ‘markets and the moral order’ identified various perceptions of neoliberalism (p.285). Along a continuum, there are those perceptions at the extreme ends: the ‘liberal dream’ and the ‘commodified’ nightmare. The liberal dream endorses the dominance of the market as beneficial whilst the commodified nightmare emphasises the destructive aspect of the market.

Of those who endorse the benefits of neoliberalism, Fourcode and Healey cited two main rationales. This school of thought believes that free markets create happiness in people because they are able to satisfy their ‘needs and desires’ (2007: 289). The second rationale as identified by Fourcode and Healy (2007) is that a competitive economy prevents authoritative interference by the government and also prevents few people monopolizing the economy. In support of these ideas, Maclosky (2006) indicates that the market develops not only public virtues, but private ones: it empowers people and makes people hardworking and creative. According to Desjardins, in its extreme form, neoliberalism is based on the premise that ‘ free-market economies are inherently stable in the absence of major government interventions and that the liberalisation of markets, including the free flow of capital, goods, people, knowledge and ideas holds the promise of economic rewards and overall increases in welfare (2013: 185).

People who espouse the ‘commodified nightmare’ on the other hand, reiterate the destructive aspects of the markets. According to proponents of this model, capitalist

consumption associated with the free market morally corrupts people. For instance, they indicate that people may consume selfishly, to impress people about their wealth. With regards to those who are not affluent, it is argued that they will, 'consume wastefully' in order to get honour and reputation' (Fourcode and Healey, 2007: 291). Sandel (2000) also indicates that inequalities undermine the free market concept. Other criticisms of the market identified by Fourcode and Healey (2007) include the criticism that emphasis on market-centric practices and beliefs kill initiatives, creativity and diversity.

In spite of these misgivings, almost every country has embarked on neoliberal agendas, and as attested by Harvey (2007), sometimes voluntarily and sometimes through coercive pressures. Harvey made a statement in his *brief history of neoliberalism* about the global hegemony of neoliberalism and its effects on the society, which I would argue can be seen in the Ghanaian context. According to Harvey,

Neoliberalism has pervasive effects in ways of thought to the point where it has become incorporated into the common-sense way many of us interpret, live in and understand the world (2005: 3)

Torres (2009a) has distinguished between globalisation from above and globalisation from below. Whilst globalisation from above involves submergence of nation state to world organisations and supra nations, reducing state services, globalisation from below involves individuals, organisations and social movements which oppose neoliberal globalisation.

In Ghana, both at the national and institutional levels, few voices seem to be challenging the takeover of the neoliberal agenda. This is in spite of austerity measures including privatisation and cuts in government spending, which inevitably bring more suffering to the masses. Nationally, it appears there is only one Journalist who has been so vocal about the invasion of capitalism in the country. On one of the radio stations in Ghana (Radio Gold) he referred to leaders in Africa as 'stooges of external powers'. He

called for ‘a new leadership [in Africa] who will insist on a new international order and for Africa’. At the institutional level, I would say they are mostly hailed. In my interviews, it appeared only one participant was quite critical about these emerging ideas in the public universities of Ghana.

This limited criticism could be attributed to a dominant institutional culture where academics hardly criticise government or institutional administrators. It could also be due to the larger Ghanaian traditional culture where younger ones are supposed to obey adults explicitly. Or may be, academics wish to avoid what many respondents described as ‘tagging’ by the government or institutional leadership or to avoid falling out of favour of these authorities. Or probably, people are not yet able to link activities in the universities to the neoliberal agenda but simply see it as a ‘common-sense’ process. And in many ways this is mirrored by academics in Western universities, which many universities in non-Western countries try unending to emulate.

Despite the concerns of neoliberalism, Currie, *et.al* (2002) indicate that it is very difficult for universities and academics to ignore the market trend of the university because the survival of the universities depends on following the trend. The market trends are parameters set by funding agencies like the World Bank who may pressurise the universities to adopt these trends. Some of the pressures, they indicate, can be mild or very direct and most often the adoption of their programmes is the basis for funding. Thus, many universities in the developing countries are forced to embark on such strategies which appear to make them more susceptible to exploitation.

Another major aspect of the neoliberal agenda which affects developing countries is its dependency on information technology. According to Harvey (2005), information technology is needed ‘to accumulate, store, transfer, analyse and use massive data bases to guide decisions in the global market’ (Introduction). It is needed for what he terms ‘space

compression (2005: 4). Many parts of Africa, however, have limited access to information technology. Even in many of the universities internet facilities are a major problem.

I will not say neoliberal approaches are without any benefits. There are certain infrastructural and other developmental changes that have occurred in some of the universities in the study which could be perceived mainly as resulting from neoliberal ideas. As one thinks about these benefits, one cannot also ignore the political, economic, cultural and psychological tensions underlying these changes (Harris 2011; Torres, 2002). It is important that the universities adopt pragmatic policies and practices that will not worsen the tensions in the universities and the larger society. It is important for the universities for instance to embark on policies that will not further worsen inequality, stratification and the plight of the poor.

The concepts of internationalisation, globalisation and neoliberalism can be perceived in terms of what Fejes said about discourses on lifelong learning. He describes narratives of lifelong learning as part of a 'worldwide Bible' that is on every tongue and it seems to provide solutions to the problems faced (2006: 698). These concepts have indeed become worldwide precepts and principles must be obeyed by any institution which does not want to perish.

Africanisation as an alternative concept

In looking for alternatives to address problems and challenges confronting African societies and the universities, some scholars and policy makers have advocated for an emphasis on African cultural values and identities (for example, Kizerbo, 1990; Mahama, 2013; Mbeki 2005;). Many recommended the 'Africanisation' of higher education (for example, Hoppers, 2012; 2008; 2002; Kizerbo, 1990).

The Africanisation concept acknowledges the need to explore the epistemology and life of Africans including culture, values, knowledge systems, language and belief systems

(Crossman, 2004; Higgs and Van Wyk, 2007; Makgoba and Tleane, 1998; Seepe, 2004). Msila cited Utch, (1968) who sees Africanisation as restoration of the rich African culture and heritage and ‘a rejection of subservience to foreign masters and the assertion of the rights and interests of the African’ (2009: 311). Ki-Zerbo (1990) sees it as an education of Africa and for Africa. He calls for the universities to restore the dignity and heritage of African people through university training. Wiredu (1984) challenges the universities to embark on counter penetration by impressing on the world what Africa has to offer.

Mbeki (2005) has indicated that to address the critical needs of the continent, there is the need for ‘a distinctively African knowledge system, which would have as its objective, the goal of recovering the humanistic and ethical principles embedded in African philosophy’. According to Mbeki, among others, such knowledge systems include:

An African identity and vision in higher education that represents a critical point of departure from the current colonial-Western identity which is neither suitable nor compatible with this identity... An African identity and vision that [emphasises] African condition, knowledge, experiences, values, world-view and mind-set at the centre of our scholarship and knowledge-seeking approach.

Among others, ‘this implies that all educational curricula in Africa should have Africa as their focus, and as a result, be indigenous-grounded and orientated’ (Ibid). Universities that are rooted in African culture, it is assumed, will help in diverse ways to serve a fundamental developmental need of the continent to ‘redeem’ its image and reposition itself as a continent in the international context.

The Africanisation concept though dates back to Pan Africanism and the struggle of Africans to attain independence from colonial masters, in present times it could be linked with the postcolonial theory.

Postcolonial theory

Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin use the term 'post colonization' to refer to all the culture affected by colonization from the time of its practice to the present' (2002: 2). According to Rizvi, it 'draws attention to the false universalism of globalisation and shows how contemporary social, political, economic, and cultural practices continue to be located within the processes of cultural domination through the imposition of imperial structures of power' (2007: 256). It also seeks to redress challenges imposed by colonisation on former colonies and also to address 'the persistent 'neo-colonial' relations within the 'new' world order...' (Bhabha, 1994: 6). Issues such as inequality and exploitation are also addressed.

Many postcolonial theories have linked the concepts of internationalisation, globalisation and neoliberalism to perpetuating of ideologies and principles of slavery and colonialism. Bhabha has attested that:

What is striking about the 'new' internationalism is the move from the specific to the general, from the material to the metaphoric. It is not a smooth passage to transition and transcendence. The middle passage of contemporary culture, as with slavery itself, is a process of displacement and disjunction that does not totalize experience (1994: 5)

According to Young, 'Postcolonialism "attempts" to shift the dominant ways in which the relations between Western and non-Western people and their worlds are viewed...means turning the world outside down' (2003: 2).

Though postcolonialism has been criticised on various issues, it is believed that issues addressed by Postcolonial theory will mitigate many of the effects of colonisation (Dirlik, 1994). Dirlik for instance indicates that postcolonialism has not been able to address the complex issues of globalisation, internationalisation and neoliberalism. He

however argues that the emergence of the theory has created significant levels of awareness over the persistence of colonial and neo colonial tendencies.

Kistner (2007) has cautioned against seeing 'Africanisation' as the panacea for the precarious state of African higher educational institutions and the development of the region in general. Bhabha has also indicated that:

The representation of difference must not be hastily read as the reflection of pre-given ethnic or cultural traits set in the fixed tablet of tradition...the 'right' to signify from the periphery of authorised power and privilege does not depend on the persistence of tradition: it is resourced by the power of tradition to reinscribe through the conditions of contingency and contradictoriness that attend upon the lives of those who are 'in the minority' (p.2).

Bhabha again says that the recognition that tradition bestows is a partial form of identification' (Ibid). Bhabha's arguments indicate that an individual's identity is not derived solely from his or her culture and tradition. Thus, there is the need for individuals not to be so obsessed only with their perceived cultures, values and knowledge systems. They could equally be influenced by other cultures. He emphasises the need for hybridity. Comparing it with what happens in horticulture, Ashcroft *et. al.* (2006) define hybridity as 'the cross-breeding of two species by grafting or cross-pollination to form a third, 'hybrid' specie. According to them, hybridity takes many forms including cultural, linguistic, social and political. In many cases, however, it has been used to mean a cross-cultural exchange (Ibid). It is about an individual being influenced by two cultures in his/her thoughts and practices, and it emphasises how both the coloniser and the colonised are influenced by each other and how each could benefit from the other's culture. Said (2003) in supporting the hybridity concept of Bhabha has indicated that:

In our wish to make ourselves heard, we tend very often to forget that the world is a crowded place, and that if everyone were to insist on the radical purity or priority of one's own voice, all we would have would be the awful din of unending strife and a bloody political oneness (xxiii).

Culture, according to him should not be a 'protective enclosure' (Ibid). Thus hybridity should emphasise the need for intercultural recognition, appreciation and learning.

Challenges with the Africanisation concept

As a philosophical approach to thinking about African higher education, 'Africanisation' is problematic. Some writers have argued against the 'Africanisation' concept. For instance, Horsthemke (2004) perceived the concept as limited to a specific way of life, misleading, creating a false sense of belonging, rural, and incompatible with globalisation. On the contrary, I would argue, in support of Bitzer and Menkyeld (2004), that African culture and civilisation involves a wide spectrum of knowledge systems encompassing the social, economic, political, philosophical, learning and legal and government systems. Following Metz (2009) I would argue that Africanisation is not just a call for higher education to free itself from colonial legacies; it is to provide an alternative way of enhancing the development of the region.

Again, Africa is a continent with so many countries and diverse cultures. A basic question that arises in respect of African values is which values to emphasise? In response, Metz (2009) indicates that many African values are shared by Africans in respect of time and space. One such value which is emphasised in literature is the Ubuntu, translated as 'A person is a person through other persons' or 'I am because we are'. The Ubuntu portrays the communal living of Africans in the society. Each individual is expected to act to enhance the sense of communalism. In fact, 'to be a person, is to be virtuous or to exhibit good character' which fosters good relationships with people (Metz, 2009: 524). It is not

surprising that in Ghana, when a person does something which does not enhance this relationship, it will be said that ‘onye nipa’ meaning ‘he is not a human being’.

Another question that arises which has been confirmed by Metz (2009) is whether particular values could be perceived as originating from Africa. Metz answers that the fact that some values are practised elsewhere does not mean it could not have generated from Africa, ‘to count as African, an idea or behaviour need not be present everywhere in Africa, and it need not be present solely in Africa’ (2009: 194). A major challenge, he indicates, is that there has been little attempt to develop a principle of right action grounded in the mores of sub-Saharan Africa peoples that is akin to the Western moral theories of Kantianism, utilitarianism or perfectionism (Metz, 2009).

Not surprising, despite the efforts to advocate African ideas and philosophies in the universities, not much has been achieved. Matos (2000: 13) confirms that the ‘process of Africanising the universities [has] proved to be a difficult one’ and ‘still far from complete’. In many universities, such programmes like philosophy, languages, law, agriculture and sports related to Africa, are yet to be introduced. African writers still write in English which critics do not hesitate to point out (Horsthemke, 2004). Again, departments of ‘English’ and not ‘literature’ dominate universities in Africa. Though since its establishment in 1930, the Institute of Kiswahili Studies (the only academic department of an indigenous language in Africa) has researched and developed many aspects of Kiswahili literature, language and culture globally, much still needs to be done.

Structural adjustment programmes imposed by the World Bank and IMF most often indicate the emphasis nations put on particular courses and who benefits from such programmes. There is a shift from “voluntary emulation” to “policy learning” to coerced adjustment (Dale, 2001). The power of governments of nation states to regulate national curriculum is becoming increasingly limited and shaped by other governments, especially governments from developed countries (Berkeens, 2003). For instance, in my research it

became apparent that the interest which some academics had in pursuing research on certain indigenous knowledge systems was not shared by their Western counterparts. In the social constructionist view, 'the world is an inter-subjective world, a world that is shared with others. To arrive at meanings and address issues effectively and efficiently, entail communicating and sharing with others (Berger & Luckmann, 1966: 37).

Conclusion

The literature reviewed has explored the present emphasis of internationalisation, globalisation, neoliberalism and Africanisation in relation to higher education. The varied effects especially on universities globally have also been explored. As important as these concepts are, the literature suggests that most of the studies, with the exception of those on Africanisation, are Western-based. Research on how the universities especially in Africa are dealing with these concepts and impact on their curriculum appear limited.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE RESEARCH

Introduction

This chapter discusses the methodology and methods used in the research and the ethical as well as other challenges that confronted me during the fieldwork. The chapter will be in four sections. The first section discusses the methodological approach, the second discusses data collection procedure, the third, data analysis and the fourth section considers the challenges of the research.

Methodological approach

Postcolonial theory is the main theoretical approach, which informs the research. This theory examines the experiences of postcolonial societies and the cultural legacies of colonialism. It explores the impacts or ‘continuation of ideologies and discourses of imperialism, domination and repression, value systems...and their effects on the daily life experiences of participants’ (Cohen, *et. al.* 2011: 45). It also helps to explain contemporary happenings including globalisation, internationalisation and neoliberal ideas historically.

This theory, I believe, is appropriate to study the extent to which the discourses and legacies of colonialism influence political and educational discourses in Ghana. It will also help to situate contemporary discourses including globalisation and internationalisation in a historical perspective. The theory will also help to identify how the curriculum development and other discourses affirm these colonial influences and discourses.

Drawing on the postcolonial theory also helps me to take into account historical forces, institutional contradictions, and contextual factors, both national and international, that shape the possibilities of educational and social change occurring and whether such a change benefits the ordinary person.

Research design

A qualitative method was adopted for this research because it allows an exploration and understanding of people's experiences, perceptions and actions. Many writers have also confirmed the benefits of qualitative research (May, 2011; Punch, 2009; Silverman, 2010). Punch (2009), for example, attests that qualitative methods enhance the study of a phenomenon, underlying motives and desires; to look at how people feel or think about an institution or subject. This approach gave participants the opportunity to bring out their feelings, understandings and perceptions about the varied ways the public universities are using to address internationalisation, and how these impact on curriculum development. It also enabled participants to express their feelings, understandings and perceptions about the impact of curriculum on their lives and the society. I agree with Myers and Avison (2002) who attests to the richness and depth of explorations and descriptions, as one of the greatest strengths of qualitative research.

Though some researchers perceive the subjectivity of qualitative study as a weakness, I will argue that such subjectivity should rather be perceived as a strength. This is because all 'truths' are socially constructed from a particular perspective and so no particular view, principle or tradition can be seen as total reality (Bur, 2003; Crotty, 1998; Gergan, 2009). My argument is related to how I view my data and arguments of postcolonial theorists about what is perceived as knowledge and truth: about whose values are being privileged and whose are being marginalised and how all these are related to colonisation. The subjectivity of a qualitative study helps to think about whose truth matters, who is heard and who is not heard. It also allowed me to think not only about how knowledge is privileged or marginalised in different geographical contexts, but how knowledge is shaped and perceived even in universities in a similar geographical location.

The ability of qualitative studies to represent specific cases rather than generalisations should equally be perceived as a strength rather than a weakness. I agree

with Bauman, who argued that universities vary from each other and that research on higher education must necessarily be contextualised.

There are no two exactly alike, and that inside every university there is a mind-boggling variety of departments, schools, styles of thought, styles of conversation, and even styles of stylistic concerns. It is the good luck of the universities that despite all the efforts of the self-proclaimed saviours, know betters and well-wishers to prove the contrary, they are not comparable, not measurable by the same yardstick and –most important of all - not speaking in unison (Bauman, 1997: 25).

However, as May (2011) suggests, a study should be organised in such a way as to make some level of generalisability possible. And though such generalisability may not be the focus of this study, I hope to generate some cross-contextual generalities that may impact on policymaking and curriculum development in the universities in Ghana. Such generalisations would include challenges confronting the universities, responses to internationalisation, and the process of curriculum development.

As indicated in the contextual background, there are nine public universities in Ghana and about 38 accredited private universities (Website of the Ghana Accreditation Board). Of the nine universities, two were established in 2011, whilst one, which was already a tertiary institution, became a university in 2008. Each university is mandated to play particular roles in the country. In recent years, especially the four older universities have diversified their programmes to include more programmes beyond their initial mandates. Details of such diversifications are discussed in chapter seven.

Most of the private universities in Ghana were established by various religious groups and denominations. These include the Methodist, the Catholic, the Presbyterian, the Seventh-Day Adventist, Pentecost, Ghana Baptist, and Islamic Universities. Others are owned by private individuals. The major programmes in almost all the private universities

are Computer Science and Business Administration. Student population in the private universities are less than the public universities.

A percentage of 6.6% of the population, fifteen years and above, are currently in the universities pursuing various undergraduate programmes. About 0.6% are pursuing postgraduate programmes. Those in the undergraduate and postgraduate programmes make up 167,445 and 14,107 of the twenty five million population in Ghana (Ghana Statistical Service, 2012).

The research involves a multiple case study of three public universities in Ghana. All three universities, sampled out of the six public universities in Ghana¹¹, were studied in detail. Cohen, *et. al.* (2007) attest that case studies help to investigate and report the complex, dynamic and unfolding interactions of events, human relationships and other factors in a unique setting. It also helps the researcher to become an integral part of the case and to understand the perceptions and interpretations of respondents. In the context of this research, the case study enhanced an in-depth exploration. It helped to probe deeply and analyse intensely questions asked and responses, providing a rich, detailed and vivid description of events relevant to the study as well as enhancing chronological narratives of events.

Data collection methods

The instruments I chose for this research were mainly interviews, documentary analyses and observations. Punch indicates that an interview, 'is a very good way of accessing people's perceptions, meanings, definitions of situations and deconstructions of reality' (2009: 144). According to him, it provides a powerful way of understanding people. The interviews helped me to gain rich insights and understanding of respondents' feelings, experiences, opinions and aspirations.

¹¹ At the time of my field work, there were six universities. Three other universities had been created but were not functioning.

In terms of document analyses, Robson points out that documents are ‘unobtrusive and non-reactive’ (2002: 349). As he explains, the researcher does not need to directly contact the person producing the document, which could trigger many challenges including intimidation from some respondents and also difficulties in meeting them. Documents also provide confirmation or otherwise of information derived from other sources of data collection, in my case interviews and observations. In addition to these important advantages, the documentary analysis helped me to derive a contextual understanding of the policy and practice environment of the universities in Ghana. Documents were important to identify the local, national and international socio-economic and political factors that shape curriculum development and curriculum content in the public universities in Ghana. They were also instrumental in identifying the initial mandates of these universities and how they have changed over time.

Many writers have also emphasised the importance of observation in research (for example, Mason, 2004; Silverman, 2010; Spradley, 1979). Silverman has stressed the importance of using both the eyes and the ears. He indicated that ‘what is routine is best established through watching and listening to what people do rather than asking them directly’ (2010: 230). Mason also attests that ‘knowledge generated through high quality observation is usually rich, grounded, local and specific...it is contextual and situated’ (2004: 89). It is very important if there is the need to observe the context of the settings (Mason, 2004).

Population, sample and sampling techniques

In terms of population, the target population was made up of senior management, deans, heads of departments, lecturers, student leaders and students of the public universities in Ghana. The Directors of the National Accreditation Board and National Council for

Tertiary Education were also targeted. Purposive and snowball sampling were the main sampling techniques used to select participants.

Punch (2009) indicates that purposive sampling is used in a deliberate purposeful way with a focus in mind to be able to have access to people with vital information on the topic. Snowball method involves identifying a small number of individuals who possess the characteristics desired for the research. These people are then used to get in touch with other respondents with the desired characteristics (Cohen *et.al.*, 2011). The sample of people interviewed was a total of fifty-seven respondents. I will now discuss the universities, disciplines and participants that were selected to participate in this study and the reasons thereof.

Recruiting Participants

Purposive sampling was used to select three public universities based on their mission statements, size and years of establishment. The feasibility of getting access to the universities was also considered. The universities selected were the University of Ndebang, University of Ojo and the University of Mawuta. The names of universities are pseudonyms for the universities in the study. Though there are many private universities in Ghana, I conducted the research in the public universities because these are the universities that are most established and they are funded by the government and tax payers' money. As a result, they are controlled more explicitly by national policies and in this sense are more responsible to the society.

Purposive sampling was also used to select three departments: Agricultural Science, Economics and African Studies. These departments were chosen because they involved different kinds of study and their graduates enter different sectors of the national economy. Again, these programmes are essential to the socio-economic and cultural

agenda of Ghana, especially, in relation to the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and Vision 2020. The MDGs are goals set to prevent extreme poverties and deprivations of nation states. Vision 2020, which comprises many of the MDGs, is a long-term agenda for Ghana to become a middle-income country by the year 2020 (GOG, 2010).

Ghana is perceived to have achieved many aspects of a middle-income status, and ‘as the fastest growing economy in Sub-Saharan Africa, it appears much more need to be done (World Bank, 2011). For instance over twenty-three percent of the population aged three years and above has never been to school (GSS, 2012). There is the need to know how internationalisation influences models taught in these departments. The Departments of Economics was selected because they are perceived to be directly linked to the economic development of Ghana. Many of the models they pursue and teach students have direct bearing on the economy, as students who graduate from these departments are absorbed in various departments in the country.

The economy of Ghana is predominantly agricultural with over 41 percent of the population engaged as skilled agricultural, forestry and fishery workers (GSS, 2012). The Agricultural sector contributes about 39 percent to the Gross Domestic Product (IMF, 2012). A main focus of the national development as reflected in most of the government documents is to ensure modernisation of agriculture (Government White Paper on Educational Reforms, 2007). There is the need to look at how a critical department, as the Agriculture department, is influenced by its external and internal demands.

There has also been an emphasis on the need for Ghana to promote its cultural and indigenous systems as the following statement from the Ministry of Youth and Sports indicates:

Arts and Culture depicts the life of a people. It is an important vehicle for appreciating and understanding the heritage of the people. It represents a sense of identity, self-respect, and the medium through which generations learn and transfer progressive skills, techniques of social relations, and survival (2010: 15).

In each of the universities, the Vice Chancellor, Academic Registrar, Deans of the faculties under which the selected departments fall and Heads of the Departments were selected. The Vice Chancellor and Deans were included because I recognised that as Administrators of the Universities, they would be able to provide relevant information for the research. This information includes curriculum development, visions and missions as well as challenges of the universities and the ways they are addressing the challenges. The Vice chancellors have a lot of influence on various decisions, policies and strategies the universities embark upon. In fact, it could be argued that most of the strategic changes occurring in the universities have been spearheaded by the Vice Chancellors. The various departments, faculties, schools, institutions and centres mostly act in line with the expectations of the institutional administrators.

The Deans and Heads of the selected Faculties and Departments respectively were selected because they are responsible for various activities and programmes at the departmental level. They play major roles in developing, leading, managing and implementing strategic plans and activities and in developing new programmes at the departmental levels. The Dean for instance, always chairs faculty meetings on the introduction of new programmes.

Purposive sampling was used to select one lecturer from each of the selected Departments. Those selected were members of faculty who are experienced and involved in curriculum development in the departments. Again, I recognised that they would be able

to give an independent view of activities at the departmental level, especially in terms of curriculum development.

The snow-ball approach was used to select five final year students from each department. The snow-ball method was used because it was difficult identifying students pursuing the programmes under study and who were also in their final year. I therefore identified a final year student in the programme or, in some cases, the Head of department introduced me to student leaders. Those I was introduced to helped identify their colleagues who could take part in the study. With student participants, the final year students were selected because they had been in the universities for a minimum of three years, about to complete their university education and had a longer period of time over which to reflect on their student experiences, curriculum development and how they perceive their programmes to be relevant to their needs and the needs of their families. In two departments of one university however, I realised it was very difficult getting the final year students to participate. They were busy with their project work and presentations. The third year students were seen as good substitutes to the final year students because they had been in the universities for a minimum of two years and could equally provide valuable information about their student experiences, curriculum development and how they perceived their programmes to be relevant to their needs and the needs of their families.

Apart from the University of Ndebang, students were not selected specifically from the African Studies Department. This is because it is only at this University that students pursue African Studies as a subject for graduation. In all the other universities, students can only study African Studies for a degree at the postgraduate level. However, it is required of every undergraduate student in all the public universities of Ghana, including the University of Ndebang, to offer African studies as a core subject for the two semesters of their first year. This requirement is a prerequisite for graduation. The arrangement at the

University of Ndebang, where students could offer African studies as a complete undergraduate programme of study, was a special arrangement initiated in 2001. The then Vice Chancellor had a special interest in African Studies and introduced the subject to boost the study of African studies at the University.

Student leaders from the institutions were also purposely selected. These leaders were selected because they represent the student body nationally and internationally. They may also have had opportunities to attend conferences and other programmes on university education in Ghana. There are two main student leadership bodies in Ghana: the National Union of Ghanaian Students (NUGS) and the Student Representative Council (SRC). The NUGS is the largest official student representative body in Ghana comprising students not only in higher educational institutions but also those in the Senior High Schools. It is student-run, autonomous, non-political, non-partisan and non-religious, and serves to champion student interests on national and international issues (website of NUGS). Its roles include training and informing student representatives on national policies through avenues including seminars and conferences. It also aims at working to enhance quality and practicality of the curriculum for the various educational institutions (Ibid). The national executives of the NUGS are elected from any of the higher educational institutions in the country while the local executives are confined to the particular institution.

The SRC is a constituent of the National Union of Ghanaian Students. All students registered at the university are automatic members of the SRC and it represents student interests at the university. It co-ordinates the activities of the academic, cultural, religious, political and recreational clubs and societies, provides a link with outside organisations and concerns itself with all aspects of student welfare within the university. Its officers are elected annually by ballot of all students. The administrative structure of the universities recognises and makes provision for student leadership on various Boards including the Academic and the Library boards.

While the research was not focused on international student's perspective, I had the opportunity to meet a small number of international students. Their views cannot be taken as representative for this reason but they provided some insights on the strengths and opportunities of the universities' approaches to internationalisation.

In total, fifty-seven interviews were held comprising thirty-five academic and staff interviews, ten local student group interviews, ten international students and two interviews with administrators of the two supervisory bodies of the universities. As indicated in tables 4.1 and 4.2, of the thirty-five respondents, thirteen were interviewed in their capacity as administrators, seven were Deans, seven were Heads of Departments, nine were academics and two were administrators of supervisory bodies of the universities. Again, out of the total number of respondents, fifteen were professors with PhDs, thirteen have their PhDs but are non-professors, and nine had Masters degrees. Only four out of the total number were females. About 90% of the respondents have had at least one of their postgraduate studies abroad.

With the local students, as indicated in table 4.3, a total of 44 individuals took part in the ten group interviews. Out of this number, three were from the African Studies Department (only from University of Ndebang, as explained above), seventeen were from the Departments of Agriculture, eighteen were from the Departments of Economics and six were student leaders. Eleven out the forty-four students were females. The international students were not selected from any specific department.

Table 4.1 Respondents (staff) interviewed, by Position, Number and Gender

Position of respondents	Number	Gender	
		Male	Female
Administrators (universities)	12	10	2
Deans	7	6	1
Heads of Departments	7	6	1
Academics	9	9	-
Administrators (supervisory bodies)	2	2	-
Total	37	33	4

Table 4.2 Respondents interviewed, by Qualifications, Number and Gender

Qualification	Number	Gender	
		Male	Female
Professors (with PhDs)	15	13	2
PhDs	13	12	1
Masters	9	8	1
Total	37	33	4

Table 4.3 Students interviewed (Areas of study and gender)

Programme/Group	Number	Gender	
		Male	Female
African Studies	3	-	3
Agriculture	17	13	4
Economics	18	16	2
Student leaders	6	4	2
Total	44	33	11

Table 4.4 International students (Nationality, number and gender)

Nationality	Number	Gender	
		Male	Female
Nigerians	8	4	4
United states	2	-	2
Total	10	4	6

Data collection procedure

The main study was preceded by a pilot study. In this section, I will discuss how both studies were conducted.

The pilot study

The pilot study was conducted at the University of Eduwin, and although it specialises in Education, the university shares the same characteristics as the other universities selected for the main study. It is a public university and offers all the programmes which are offered at the other universities. The means of generating the data were documentary analyses and in-depth interviews which were the same methods used in the main study. Initially, the plan was to interview the Vice Chancellor and Registrar of the University. They had however travelled outside the country so the Vice Registrar, in addition to the Dean of Social Science, the Head of Department of African Studies, the Head of Economics Department and a member of the curriculum development team were interviewed. Each interview lasted between forty minutes and one hour.

Many writers (Bryman, 2008; Mason, 2004; Silverman, 2011; Wilkinson and Birmingham, 2003) have affirmed the benefits of pilot study and my experiences

confirmed these. The study helped me to try out my sampling, data generation, and analytical strategies. It especially helped me to assess the likelihood of gaining access to key participants and to assess my interviewing skills and relationship with participants. I was also able to determine whether any of the questions were sensitive and uncomfortable to participants or if participants were unable to elicit useful responses. Apart from observing actions, reactions and verbal responses of participants, I asked them directly whether any of the questions were sensitive or if they found any, difficult to understand. After the pilot study, the interviews were transcribed and a summary of the transcription and my comments were sent to my supervisors for their feedback. From the transcription and analyses of the responses, feedback from participants, my supervisors and my own observations, I made some changes. For instance, I realised that I needed to explain more the nature of my research and also quite complex issues like ‘internationalisation’ and ‘Africanisation’.

In line with suggestions by Mason, the pilot study helped me to plan and respond as ‘strategically as possible’ to practical problems which could emerge from the main study (2004: 44). I was able to plan my time, money and issues on transport. For instance, undertaking the pilot study exposed me to many of the challenges I was actually confronted with during the main study. These challenges prepared me psychologically and physically to tackle the main study. Two major challenges confronted me. One was associated with institutional barriers like unavailability of administrators and academics. The other had to do with social problems confronting the Ghanaian society specifically road accidents and armed robbery. In fact, I was involved in a near-fatal accident at the time I was going to negotiate access to conduct the pilot study at the University of Eduwin. This accident, though not fatal caused much internal injury and pain which delayed my work for almost three weeks. I was also emotionally shaken. Confronted with lack of safety on the roads, I decided for instance, to travel by domestic flights to areas of my

research which had flights. Travelling by domestic flights also incurred significant financial costs.

The main study

Consistent with the pilot study, I adopted interviews and documentary analyses as the means of generating the data of the main study. The individual and group interviews took the form of face-to-face verbal interchange for administrators and academics and face-to-face group interviewing for students. The interviews with international students also took the form of face-to-face individual interviews. Using the face-to-face approach enabled me to make certain observations including people's physical reaction to the interview and body language. It especially enabled me to probe further and ask for clarifications. These advantages have been emphasised by many writers (for example, Cohen, *et. al.*, 2007). Berger & Luckmann (1966: 43) further emphasise that 'whilst there are many ways of encountering others...the most important experience of others, takes place in the face-to-face situation. All other cases are derivatives of it'. Again, while we may 'remotely experience others by having heard about them or through written exchanges, it is only through 'face-to-face' encounters that a person becomes real in 'the 'fullest sense of the word'. These experiences also helped me to pause and make reflections of my own understanding of things. In addition to these advantages, with the international students, it was difficult getting them together as a group.

In relation to the group interviewing, this stimulated students to make explicit their views, perceptions, motives and reasons. This advantage is also pointed out by writers including Punch (2009). A comment from one student provoked other thoughts and reactions from others, which helped to generate rich information. It also generated lively discussions, arguments and debates which helped to generate detailed information. For instance, it was interesting to watch students' reactions on whether they wanted to work abroad or in Ghana after graduation.

The interviews were semi-structured with open ended questions. Semi-structured forms of the interviews maintained a balance between the structured interview and the unstructured interview. It allowed “sufficient flexibility to allow the interviewee an opportunity to shape the flow of information” (Wilkinson and Birmingham, 2003: 45). Open-ended questions also allowed respondents to answer from their own point of reference rather than being limited by pre-structured questions (Crestwel, 2003). Respondents had the opportunity to express their perspectives as freely as possible. This enabled the data to be as detailed as possible.

All interviews, for both students and non-students lasted between forty-five minutes and one and half hours. The average was one hour. Interviews involving the Deans and Administrators were shorter than interviews involving students and academics. One interview with an Academic registrar and a Dean lasted for twenty-five and forty minutes, respectively. The Academic Registrar was whisked away for an emergency meeting whilst the Dean could be visibly seen as not feeling too well.

The Administrators, Deans and Academics were interviewed on issues including their perceptions and rationales of internationalisation, strategies of internationalisation and their impact on curriculum development. I also interviewed on challenges confronting the universities and how they are addressing these challenges. The interviews helped to identify what roles the different social actors, including policymakers, academics and practitioners play in the development of curriculum in universities in Ghana. It also helped to determine how the universities are responding to the changing local, national and international socio-economic contexts and the impact on curriculum development and content. The interviews with students focused on how the various programmes they are pursuing and/or pursued have served their interests locally and positioned them internationally. It also explored how students have also impacted on their families and communities.

To ensure that no important information was lost, and also to enhance my concentration on what the interviewee was saying, all the interviews were recorded on tape. In addition, I took extensive notes. As emphasised by Bogdan and Bilken (2003), with qualitative research, each gesture, act or word is significant. Using this recording equipment therefore enabled me gain a more 'holistic' view of the context under study. All the data were collected in the context of deep attentiveness, emphatic understanding and blocking of preconceived ideas and biases. Again, in line with suggestions by Robson (1993) on effective interviews, I listened more than I spoke, put questions in a straightforward, clear and non-threatening way, eliminated cues which could lead respondents to respond in a particular way and also indicated that I was enjoying the interviews. Again, long questions, double-barrelled questions, leading questions, biased questions and questions involving jargons were avoided (Ibid).

The setting for the group interviews was informal and all participants had equal access to the discussion with no restrictions on who may speak, how often and for how long. What respondents said was not specified in advance (Wilkinson and Birmingham, 2003: 92). However, with the group interviews, to prevent the tendency of some participants dominating the discussion, ground rules were established at the beginning of the interview (Robson, 1993). For instance, participants were asked not to interrupt when another participant was speaking. Efforts were also made to ensure that participants in each group did not exceed five people. However, in two of the interviews, when friends of participants heard they will be given food, they joined the group. In such instances there were about six and seven students in the group. With the focus group interview, my role as a researcher was more of a facilitator than an interviewer. I facilitated, moderated, monitored and made group recordings.

Collection of Documents

This phase of the study involved the gathering of available international, national and institutional documents on curriculum development. After every interview, participants were asked if they could provide some documents, however, few were able to do so and of those provided most were course outlines and programmes of the departments. I could not get documents such as minutes of meetings on curriculum development, proposals to develop new programmes, training programmes and activities because participants were not prepared to part with these documents. Mainly, the Heads of Departments gave me these kinds of documents. Academics always referred me to the Heads of Departments. The reluctance to give out documents, I realised, could be attributed to micro and macro politics and use of power on the campuses which I will explain in a section below. To compensate for such limitations, I included other departments, which were not in the original sample. Such departments included Directorate of Quality Assurance Systems of the Universities, the International Centres/Offices, the National Accreditation Board (NAB) and the National Council for Tertiary Education (NCTE). I was able to get some documents, though limited, on quality assurance systems and budgets of the Universities. These were especially from the NCTE.

Other documents I had included basic statistics of the universities, university handbooks, institutional reports and historical backgrounds of the universities. Reports of the Vice Chancellors and Strategic Plans were obtained from the websites of the universities. Documents derived from outside the Universities included newspaper articles and reports and news agendas. The quality and quantity of such documents varied with the universities. For instance, whilst one of the Universities has a well-developed website with detailed information, the other universities did not have such details on their websites.

Jupp (1996) suggests that the use of a particular document should be guided by key tests: authenticity, credibility, representativeness and meaning. I was guided by

MacDonald and Tipton (1996) admonishing that in documentary analyses, nothing should be taken for granted. In line with this suggestion, no document related to the issue under study was taken for granted or ignored.

Observation

My method of observation was that of a participant observer. Mason defines participant observation as ‘methods of generating data which entail the researcher immersing herself or himself in a research ‘setting’ so that they can experience and observe at first hand a range of dimensions in and of that setting (2004: 84). With the challenges involved in observation, she emphasises the need to be sure ‘before making a major commitment’ (Ibid: 89).

With this suggestion, I mainly used a field journal where I recorded all observations, challenges, and things said by people beyond the interview rooms. However, with my experience as a student in one of the public universities for over six years and my experience as a lecturer in another university for over five years, albeit a private university, much of the observations were in relation to my experiences. With my observations, I tried to focus on aspects which were very essential to my research though I did not ignore other information I stumbled upon.

Data Analyses

Content and discourse analyses are the main procedures I adopted for analysing both the interview and documentary data. The content analyses helped me to explore the documents, texts and the transcribed data to identify key words, phrases, ideas and themes which were grouped together using a coding system (Wilkinson, 2011). I also looked at how these words, phrases and themes are presented and the frequency with which they occur (Ritchie and Lewis, 2003). Wilkinson (2011) indicates that content analyses generate a relatively systematic and comprehensive summary of the data. In analysing the data, I

also emphasised how language is used by respondents. Coyle, (1995: 247) has indicated that there is the need for researchers to be highly sensitive to the nuances of language. For instance, the discourse analyses enabled me to explore how respondents use languages to construct identities and reveal their emotions and understandings. It also helped me to examine how different meanings are constructed through texts (Cohen, *et. al.*, 2011). Discourse analyses also focus on issues of ‘power, domination and the constructions and reproduction of power in texts and conversations’, which are some of the main concepts of my research (Ibid).

All the data were analysed inductively, from bottom up using ‘Categorical indexing’ and ‘cross-sectional analyses as discussed in Punch (2009). Categorical indexing involves using headings and subheadings and themes that emerge from the data to sort and organise the data into meaningful groups and labels. Following Mason (2004), the cross sectional analyses and data derived from the individual and group participants, were compared and contrasted to discover explanatory patterns among the individuals and groups. As indicated by Prior (2011), such a procedure highlighted what is important and what is absent in both the interview and document data. It also helped to re-examine the text to ‘discover intentions, functions and consequences of the discourse’. A very important aspect of the analyses was what Mills (1940 in May 2002: 140) identified as ‘vocabulary of motives.’ This involves reasons people give for performing certain actions in certain situations. It helped me to look at why various strategies are adopted and the emerging identities in the universities. It also helped me to identify opposing interpretations and to give a fair idea of what is actually occurring (Cohen, *et. al.*, 2011).

The analyses were done manually. This enabled me to have personal experience with the data. Various authors have raised concern about using computer assisted techniques (Cohen *et. al.*, 2011; Flick 2009; Gibbs 2007; Mauthner and Doucet, 2003). Some of these concerns include the possibility of limiting reflexivity, creating a distance

between researchers and data, and some important contexts may be missed. The analyses of data derived from the interviews were firstly transcribed. The transcription was done personally to enable me become familiar with the data.

Theoretically, the analyses of the data were based mainly on the perspectives of postcolonial theory. The analyses also focused on questions of power, influence, and authority in the process of decision-making and educational planning at several levels (Torres, 2009b). In all these processes, I was guided by suggestions from May who indicates that effective analyses demand, ‘perseverance, theoretical acumen and an eye for detail’ (2005: 142).

Challenges of the Study

Many of the challenges of the study revolved around ethical considerations, time, finance and risks and how I dealt with the situations are discussed in a separate section below, but first I will discuss the remaining challenges and encounters in this section.

Time and access to respondents

A major challenge which most researchers have associated with qualitative research is that, it is time consuming. My experiences confirm this challenge. What made my situation more challenging was the period of the study. Unfortunately, the time I had permission to conduct my research was in the first semester of the universities’ calendar, which is between August and December. However, this is the period that many activities and programmes of the universities, including matriculation and graduation, occur. The study therefore coincided with many of these programmes, which made it more difficult getting access to Administrators and Academics. With some respondents, especially in one of the universities, I went to their offices about ten times including many phone calls and still could not get access to them. With some respondents, I went to their offices a minimum of five times including many phone calls before I could get access to them.

In the three universities, I was only able to interview one Vice Chancellor and that was for less than forty minutes. In the other two universities where I could not interview the Vice Chancellors, I made replacements with people who would have an interesting perspective on the issues relevant to the research. In one university, I interviewed the immediate former Vice Chancellor whose tenure of office (2000-2008) witnessed the most dramatic changes at the University. I also interviewed the Pro-Vice Chancellor of the other University who is also very involved in the curricular changes of the University and an initiator of popular Africa-related programmes at the university.

Especially because the time of the interviews coincided with many programmes and activities occurring at the universities, the interviews conducted were interspersed with a series of phone calls, discussions, conversations, which at times disrupted the flow of thought and discussion. Any time such interruptions occurred I had to stay alert to steer participants' thought back to the point of discussion. In the end, discussions were always fruitful.

Gaining access to students was not too much of a problem. As indicated earlier, the Heads of Department normally introduced me to student leaders who assisted in recruiting students to participate in the research. In some cases, I was given the choice by the Heads to look out for students in the department on my own to participate in the interviews.

Risks

Major risks that I was confronted with were the rates of motor accidents and armed robbery in Ghana. These challenges caused me some emotional trauma and insecurity. In recent times, Ghana has been noted for road accidents. From January to August 2011, 1,431 people were reported to have died in road accidents.¹² This figure excludes those not reported. As I indicated earlier, I had a near-fatal accident just at the beginning of my

¹² Featured Article, 23rd February, 2012, www.ghanaweb.com/)

research. My fieldwork involved travelling to four regions of Ghana where the selected universities are sited. The Northern and Upper West region are 658 and 740 kilometres respectively from Accra and take 11 and 12 hours to travel by bus (there is very limited rail network in Ghana; it is virtually non-existent). At the time of conducting my research, travelling to especially the Northern regions, was considered a nightmare by many Ghanaians due to the rampant occurrences of road accidents and ferocious attacks by armed robbers on buses. At the time of doing the research, all buses travelling to the Northern region of Ghana moved in convoy. The convoy is again, guarded heavily by armed police men. I was beset with psychological and emotional tension just thinking of travelling to the Northern and Upper West Regions of Ghana.

As I travelled to the Northern regions, I was confronted with the harsh weather, the cost of living, and cultural practices. These regions are among the most deprived regions of Ghana and there were many challenges. I was very surprised, when I had to travel from the Upper West to the Northern region. I was told that buses from Wa, the regional capital of Upper West, to Tamale the regional capital of the Northern region, set off only at dawn. Travelling on this route was actually one of my deadliest fears. Despite these dangerous hazards I managed to do the research in these places without any incident.

Finance

Finance was also another challenge. As indicated above, the fieldwork involved travelling to four regions and this entailed many transport fares. Again, to reduce risk, I had to travel by domestic flights where they were available. The cost of such flights was almost ten times the cost of going by bus. Travelling to the different regions and the amount of time spent getting access to respondents also required staying in guest houses for two to three weeks at each University. By the end of the research, I had spent large sums of money which were not covered by any grant. I had to bear them personally.

Ethical considerations

Kimmel (1988) has said that whatever ethical stance one assumes and no matter what forethought one brings to bear on one's work, there will always be unknown, unforeseen problems (which demand quick thinking). This caution reflects my ethical challenges and encounters in the field. These ethical challenges revolved around voluntary informed consent, protection of participants from physical and emotional discomfort and/or harm, power relations and right to privacy and anonymity as stipulated by the British Educational Research Association (BERA), Revised Ethical Guidelines for Educational Research (2004) and the Roehampton University Ethics Guidelines (2010). The challenges and specific actions taken in relation to these codes of practice are discussed below:

Voluntary informed consent

Both the pilot and main studies began after I obtained consent from the selected universities, the various departments and participants. Initially, I sent letters to the Registrars of the selected universities asking for permission to conduct my fieldwork at the respective institutions. Information about the research including the title, purpose, objectives and significance of the research were attached to the letters. To make my request more substantive and ensure more cooperation, I obtained a letter from my Director of Studies confirming the research I was undertaking. The letter explained the potential benefits of the research. I followed up the letters to the universities with telephone calls and personal visits to two of the institutions to enhance a speedy response. With the third University, I was able to communicate directly on phone with the Registrar who confirmed the consent of the University for the research to be conducted there.

Upon receiving positive response from each of the universities, I sent letters to prospective participants including the Vice Chancellors, Academic Registrars, the Deans, and Heads of Departments of the selected universities and departments requesting if they could participate in the research. In every letter, a brief background of the research, the

purpose and significance were given. The letter also indicated the time frame and ethical conditions of the interview. It was indicated that the interview would be recorded and each interview would take about an hour. Respondents were assured of confidentiality and made aware that no participant will be named in any writing from the research and pseudonyms will be used. Again, participants were made to know that participation in the research was voluntary and each participant was free to withdraw at any time without having to offer reasons.

I also had personal contacts with many of the participants to further explain the research topic and clarify issues, which they did not understand and also to negotiate for the time they could be available. A few respondents agreed to have the interview the same day or immediately they were contacted. Others gave various times ranging from a day to about a month from the time they were contacted.

Getting access to participants in senior positions involved encountering gatekeepers who were often, the secretaries to the participants. As advised by researchers including Cohen *et.al* (2007, 2011), these gatekeepers were not overlooked in seeking informed consent for the research. Issues about the research were explained to them and their cooperation and support sought to facilitate access to participants. Some of the secretaries were glad to help while others made it difficult getting access to participants. In one of the Deans' offices for instance, the secretary asked me to submit two letters, in addition to the letters from the University and the College, before I could meet with the Dean. She kept giving me appointment times which were not particularly suitable for the Dean and so on each occasion I was disappointed. When finally, I was able to meet the Dean, I was surprised to find how affable he was and his eagerness to have the interview with me. He indicated that the secretary had fixed dates and times without consulting him. Eventually we had to fix the time between sixty-thirty and seven o'clock in the morning.

Generally, it was very difficult getting access to senior staff. Many of the participants kept changing the dates and times for the interviews. There were times I felt dejected and worn out. There was one Dean who received me so well after waiting so long to see him. We fixed a date and a time, he noted these down eagerly in his diary. I arrived at the appointed time confident that I would interview him. Luckily, he was in the office and he asked his secretary to usher me in. When I entered the office he asked, “so lady, what can I do for you?” I told him of the appointment we had. He then said “oh, oh, I now understand. I have written in my diary, ‘an interview with a PhD student’ but I could not make sense of what I had written. I even thought it was an interview for PhD students to the university”. That began another cycle: I would call and he would give me a date and then cancel. I called him several times and went to his office several times but still could not have an interview with him. Another Dean rescheduled his appointment more than six times and I still could not meet with him. Most of the Deans I interviewed rescheduled their appointment three or more times. In many cases I had to make five trips to their offices before securing an appointment.

In terms of students, as explained earlier, I had to seek further permission from their Heads of Department before contacting them. This was to prevent the impression that I was trying to coerce students to give me information about the departments without the knowledge of the Heads of Department. One Head of Department actually expressed his resentment and feeling that students would give me wrong ideas. Eventually and surprisingly, he was the one who actually informed the student leader and gave the student’s number to contact him to arrange for the interviews.

At the beginning of every interview session, respondents were encouraged to ask questions about anything concerning the interview that they did not understand, and I then explained. No participant was forced to participate in the research without his/her permission and no one was forced to say something he/she did not want to. Negotiating

and renegotiating thus became an integral part of the interview process. I explained to participants their right to withdraw if they chose to and also assured them of the emphasis placed on confidentiality and anonymity. Students especially felt very relieved to hear that. Before the interviews, participants were given consent forms to read and append their signatures of approval.

Respondents were also not pushed to answer any question in any particular way. Again, no one was forced to say anything or give out a document against his/her will. Participants were also not forced to talk beyond the time they could give. Some Deans and Heads of Departments pointed out questions they did not want to answer. Some Academics also refused to give documents indicating that it is the prerogative of the Heads of Departments or administrators to give out such documents.

Some responses from participants had implicit or explicit political undertones and/or comments which personally I agreed or disagreed. However, in order to consider my own position and perspectives in relation to the various politics at play, I worked hard to listen to respondents' views on political issues and not disrupt them by imposing my own views, perceptions and understandings. I also refrained from giving a partisan comment which could have influenced participants' responses or attitudes. Doucet and Mauthner (2002) have emphasised the importance of researchers maintaining close relation even with those who do not meet their theoretical, epistemological and political perspectives. Thus, I had to listen to all political views, though I heard some political accounts with greater commitment and connection than others (Ibid).

In the next section, I discuss in more detail the various political and power relations I encountered and how I dealt with each of them.

I dealt with multiple layers of power relations and had to determine my position in each of them. This involved interviewing very powerful personalities including the Vice Chancellors of the universities selected, lecturers who were my colleagues (I am a practitioner in a higher educational institution) as well as students who are less powerful. The main ethical issue was power relations with Administrators, Deans and the Heads of Departments. Many researchers (Cohen *et. al.*, 2011; Lee, 1993) have written extensively about the challenges of researching the ‘powerful’. These include difficulty in getting access to participants and documents. Lee indicates that such difficulties of researching powerful people influence researchers to ‘study down’ and not ‘study up’ (1993: 8). This is because it is ‘easier and less sensitive to investigate’ (Cohen *et.al.*, 2011: 166).

I also had to establish the legitimacy of my research in terms of the status of the University I came from, my position as a woman as well as my position as a student. In Ghana, the University of Roehampton is less known as many of the academics had their postgraduate schooling in universities such as Oxford, Sheffield and the Institute of Education, London. Instinctively, some tried to belittle my research and tried to find what might be wrong with my interview guide. Many emphasised the fact that they have not heard of the University. These reactions, I felt, could be linked to the importance accorded to the university ranking systems, and universities perceived to be at the ‘top’. Rauhvargers confirmed in a study on Global university rankings and their impact that:

The importance of rankings seems to have grown exponentially...both society and policy makers are tempted to judge all higher education in the world by the standards that rankings use to detect the top research universities, rather than applying one of the core principles of quality assurance – the ‘fitness for purpose’ principle (2011: 13).

Thus, so far as a particular university is not within the top of the league tables, that university is assumed not to be of standard. I had to explain to respondents that the University of Roehampton is among the best universities in the UK, especially, its Education Department.

Another issue I had to grapple with was negotiating my position as a researcher and my societal and cultural responsibilities as a woman. One of the most important responsibilities in African cultures is to marry and have a family. It is a responsibility that appears non-negotiable. In some cases, marrying early may be preferred to pursuing a higher education. Such practice was confirmed by research conducted by Morley *et. al.* (2010), on: 'Widening participation in higher education in Ghana and Tanzania'. It was indicated in the studies that one of the barriers to wider participation in higher education in Ghana was early marriage and pregnancy. Thus, one of the 'most important' questions many participants asked was whether I was married and/or whether I had children. One respondent retorted when I responded that I have not married and did not have children:

Why are you not married and why don't you have children. This your research about curriculum, about education, are all about people, and you, you don't want to give birth. What are you doing the research for?

In such situations I just had to smile and politely change the topic or tell them what they want to hear, that I was in the process of getting married.

One academic however decided to take me out for lunch. I agreed to go in order to have the opportunity to have more information related to my research. I was taken to a nice restaurant and there he began to talk about his marriage life and all. Though he was not conclusive, what he was driving at was quite clear. I politely steered the trend of the conversation towards neutral matters and then to his perceptions about issues on my research. Such an experience reflects what Bourne-Day and Lee -Treveed said: that

participants may have their own agendas and goals for participation, seeing the researcher as a 'gatekeeper to attractive assets, convenient mediator, alibi, or trying to transform the relationships into private ones' (2008: 36, 35).

However, some of the encounters, I realised, were pure intimidation. Some participants, I realised felt the need to show their intellectual prowess and knowhow. Some participants, after they asked a lot of questions about my research, would tell me they teach research methods and want know how I go about my research. There was one academic who asked whether my proposal had been approved. Another respondent asked to see my interview guide and without waiting for my response, started lecturing me on how as a researcher, I should have an interview guide. According to him "that is how it is done". What I wondered though is how he thought I could have travelled all the way back to Ghana to do interviews without an interview guide. I realised, however, that some participants tried to use intimidation to cover their own weaknesses. Some had just taken the position and had to establish their authority and superiority.

The issue of power, though in some cases could be attributed to ignorance, was not limited to those in administrative positions but included their secretaries. In one such case, which appeared to be ignorance, the University had prepared a new Act and I was directed by the Academic Director to get a copy from the Registrar's office. The secretary in the office refused to let me have a copy because according to her, the Act has not been published and so could not be given to me. Not even a call from the Academic Director could convince the secretary to give the Act to me. Eventually, she was able to convince the Director that the Act has not been published. When I met the Vice Chancellor, I asked him about it and he indicated that the Act has been published and that I could get a copy from the Government Printing Office. I managed to get the copy but it was an abridged form and did not give the details that I could have obtained from what the University has. Obviously, the secretary was associating printing of the Act to publishing of the Act.

To assert the legitimacy of my research and also address any form of intimidation from respondents, I had to continue explaining the background, objective and significance of the research using local contexts and literature. These enabled participants to appreciate the research being undertaken and to recognise that I indeed know what I was about. I had to convince them of the importance of the research beside what I have written in the consent letters. In extreme cases, where participants tried to be harsh and sarcastic, I exercised much patience and restraint. These were great virtues I learnt in the field. There were times I had to try to maintain a cheerful disposition, try to agree to what a prospective participant was saying when in actual fact I felt insulted or discomfort. In the end, such people were always cooperative and gave the needed information. With these experiences, I realised the importance of such attributes as determination, patience, perseverance and the ability to maintain cheerful and sometimes neutral disposition even though I was hurting inside. Though some feminist theorists address the importance of researchers maintaining close and loving relationship with participants (Mauthner and Doucet, 2003), many writers on qualitative research appear silent on such attributes. I would argue that such attributes are as important as the academic and physical preparations needed to have a fruitful fieldwork.

Politics

The political terrain I negotiated had to do with both micro and macro politics. On August 31st, 2011, there was a release of classified diplomatic cables from the US Embassy in Ghana by the international whistle blowing website (Wiki leaks). This release created a lot of political tensions. Many public figures including politicians and journalists were implicated and scandalised by information they were purported to have given out to diplomats and other dignitaries from the United States and other Western countries. My main study started on the 5th of September, 2011 and thus coincided with these incidents. Many people were therefore less willing to give out information especially to someone

coming from any Western country. At the beginning of the research, respondents were cautious with what they had to say and documents they had to give out. A Head of Department initially objected to my recording the interview because according to him he has a “Unique” voice which will be recognised by anyone. He also raised the concern of the small number of the universities and how I was sure that information cannot be traced to a particular department. He appeared to also be concerned with internal politics. He asked me to print the questions so he could answer them on paper instead of talking to be recorded. In the end however, he was very cooperative, accepted to be recorded and introduced me to students and lecturers in the department.

Some participants refused to give documents or answer particular questions. One Head of Department, for instance, refused to give out course details of students’ field programme indicating that it was the prerogative of the programme coordinator to give such documents. Another academic, after refusing to give a course content referred to it as ‘Ghanaian bureaucracy’. Again, one Dean told me he will not answer particular questions due to personal reasons. These encounters revealed the subtle and pervasive nature of both macro and micro politics in the universities, where academics want to do what is ‘politically right’.

These encounters reflect the extent of political influences in universities as emphasised by Torres (1995-96). It also indicates the suppression of Academics in giving views which may be seen as contrary to the view of the government or the institution. At any particular time, it was difficult to determine which voice, a particular respondent was using. I wondered whether some of the things respondents were telling me reflected reality or were what was assumed to be ‘politically correct’.

In terms of students, their main concern was anonymity from university authorities. Once they were assured of the anonymity, they felt quite comfortable to talk. Students

were also assured of how the findings of the research could influence university policies in their favour. It was only one student who asked whether my university in the United Kingdom has asked me to come and look at their curriculum to report to them, and he actually said this in quite an unfriendly tone.

To allay the fears of participants especially, in terms of confidentiality and anonymity, I tried to enter into dialogue with participants who expressed such fears, to explain the importance of conducting such research in the universities though the institutions are few. This form of dialogue was different from the seemingly impersonal, blunt and formal manner of stating the benefits of a research or explaining the usage of codes and pseudonyms, which many of the respondents, as academics and researchers, are well aware of. There was the need to emphasise the importance of such research if the universities in Ghana could make meaningful impact in their roles and contributions both locally and abroad. I did the same with student participants who were mainly concerned with their identity being revealed to the university authorities. They were assured of confidentiality and anonymity. They were also assured that such research could bring reforms in the university, which will alleviate many challenges confronting the students and make students' experiences more meaningful.

This strategy I adopted and the success attained, confirm that since many respondents are driven by a desire to help others, by instituting practical steps to facilitate dialogue with respondents about how their data can be used, can help them to grasp the outcomes of their participation (Beck, 2005; Carter, *et. al.*, 2008; Dyregrov, 2004; Hynson, *et. al.*, 2006).

Negotiating the terrain of space and time

One important ethical concern is to protect participants from physical and emotional harm. It was therefore very important that a comfortable place was provided for participants

during the interviews. All interviews involving Administrators, Deans, Heads of Departments and Academics took place in their respective offices on the respective university campuses.

The main challenge was the unavailability of space for student interviews. Due to limited infrastructure, the lecture rooms were occupied. There were limited spaces like discussion rooms or spaces in the libraries. I was once offered to have an interview in a conference room in one of the departments. Just as the interview started other students started coming in. I was told they were postgraduate students who were about to have a class in the conference room. Luckily, I had struck friendship with the manageress of one of the guesthouses run by the School of Agriculture, that morning. I called her and she accepted that I could use the conference room of the facility.

Due to the challenge of space, interview of students took place at various places including lecture theatres, restaurants and open spaces (under trees). One interview actually took place on a tiny corridor of a room where one of the student respondents was staying. However, in all these varied places, I made sure the interviews were conducted in a conducive atmosphere where participants felt happy and comfortable, both physically and emotionally, to express themselves.

Many writers including Cohen *et. al.* (2011) have indicated that ethical principles must be interpreted in the light of the research context and of other values at stake. With this in mind, I decided it will be proper to give students snacks considering the conditions under which I had to interview them. The interviews, most often, occurred after classes when students could be tired and hungry. In many cases, some had to go for classes again after the interviews. Giving students snacks also enabled me to spend few minutes with them to thank them for their participation, answer their questions and generally talk with them for a while. Student participants were really appreciative of this and they asked me

several questions on issues including my programme, financial implications and student experiences abroad, among others. Baumrind (1964 cited in Cohen, *et. al.*, 2011) describes such a time with participants as a way to show ‘positive indebtedness’ which I totally agree with.

There was a twist of events when in one of the Universities, student participants requested to be taken to an international continental restaurant. After negotiations, they had to be taken to a local restaurant albeit an expensive one with some of the students choosing more expensive foods than we negotiated. I was not surprised since students from this University compared to the other universities, are from wealthier homes and exposed to such luxuries. The restaurant however, served to provide space to do the interview as there was actually no place to do the interview on the campus. We booked an inner room of the restaurant which was private and more expensive than the outer room of the facility.

Conclusion

The chapter has discussed the methodology and methods of conducting the research. The conceptual framework of the research was the postcolonial theory. The qualitative method was also adopted because it is consistent with my metaphysical view that there is no universal truth. It helped me to think about whose truth matters in terms of knowledge in higher education, who is heard and who is not heard. With the strength of qualitative studies in enhancing specifics instead of generalisations, the methodology also helped me to identify how knowledge is perceived and shaped in each of the universities in the studies.

The population, sample and sampling techniques, methods used in gathering the data and the data analyses procedure were also discussed. The chapter also presented the challenges, risks and ethical issues and how these were dealt with. Though various challenges were encountered in the field, including socio-cultural, political and financial

problems, the methodology adopted, and the means of gathering the data, I argue, were very appropriate for the research. They helped to explore the understanding and the perceptions of students and staff of internationalisation and their experiences of higher education. In the end, I was able to gather the needed data which resulted in achieving the desired objectives of the research. The next four chapters provide the findings of the research.

CHAPTER FIVE

KNOWLEDGE CONTESTATIONS

Introduction

Many writers (for example, Bridges, 2000; Burke, 2012; Griffin, 1997; Harris 2007; 2008; 2011; Torres, 2009a) have argued that globalisation of capital, the spread of neoliberal economic thinking, the emergence of the knowledge economy and the internationalisation agenda, have created contestations over knowledge and the purpose of the university. The magnitude of these tensions is such that some people perceive them as ‘a crisis arguably more serious than those of finance, organisation and structure’ (Griffin, 1997: 3).

In the public universities in Ghana, contestations over knowledge have become more complicated due to the complex sets of historical, socio-cultural, economic and international factors which have been discussed in the preceding chapters. While there are public discussions about what kinds of knowledge and skills should be valued in higher education, especially in relation to graduate employment and civic responsibilities, what is noticeable is the re-emergence of interest in the role and place of indigenous knowledge systems in the university. These debates and discourses operate within a complex dynamic of internationalisation, Africanisation, the influences of colonialism and the need to address perceived national developmental needs.

This chapter discusses respondents’ perceptions of internationalisation, Africanisation, and developmental needs of Ghana. The chapter will be in four sections. The first section discusses internationalisation, followed by a consideration of the concept of Africanisation and Indigenous Knowledge systems (IKS). The third section looks at the discourses on developmental needs and the fourth examines the differences in responses in and among the universities.

Internationalisation

This section addresses participants' responses to the research questions about their understanding of internationalisation and the rationales of the universities for pursuing an internationalisation agenda. The section is in two parts. The first part looks at the meanings respondents attach to internationalisation, while the second part looks at the rationales the universities have for pursuing internationalisation.

Meanings attached to internationalisation

None of the respondents specifically defined internationalisation. Rather, the majority tried to explain the meanings they attach to the concept. Below are some excerpts from the interviews which reflect the responses of the majority of the participants.

Being accepted in the global world. Being accepted means your students being accepted, your research being accepted and your lecturers being accepted
(Administrator, University of Mawuta).

Internationalisation is possible when you want to make yourself international or you want to do things which are international or whatever you do must be seen as in the international domain. I don't understand but I think what we are trying to do is that whatever we do here should be acceptable to the international world. So we are thinking of what is happening outside as a way of guiding us in whatever we do
(Head of Department, Economics, University of Ojo).

Internationalisation as far as I am concerned is also globalisation. In other words, trying to create a single system that all of us must participate in, and this happens at various levels (Dean of the Arts Faculty, University of Ndebang).

The world has become a global village so they are saying that if you train here or outside, you should be able to fit into the system locally and externally. I don't

know whether I am getting the concept right? (Academic, Economics, University of Ndebang).

Having international students (The Vice Chancellor, University of (Mawuta)

Internationalisation, I think is a positive thing. Linking up with institutions outside brings about exchange of students and staff which broadens their exposure, brings comparison, makes the individual a better student; helps the institution to review programmes and curriculum (Academic registrar, University of Ojo).

These responses indicate that respondents attach three main meanings to internationalisation: ability of the universities to be accepted worldwide, ability to attract students from the world over and the ability to exchange ideas, resources, students and staff. Knight (2008) and De Wit (2011, 2009), among other writers, have confirmed that different meanings are attached to internationalisation. According to De Wit in both literature and practice, it 'is still quite common to use terms that only address a small part of internationalisation and/or emphasise a specific rationale for internationalisation' (2011: 243).

A critical look at the responses also indicates that some of the respondents (typified by the responses of the Head of Department and the Academic at the University of Ndebang) did not know much about internationalisation though they might have heard of the concept. In many cases, I engaged in discussions with respondents on what might be meant by internationalisation explaining that it is understood in many ways. After my explanations, quite significantly, all respondents emphasised how important internationalisation is to them, and their particular universities. The importance of internationalisation was even attested to by respondents who had not heard of the concept. This portrays, as is explained in the next sections in this chapter, how individuals and universities from ex-colonial countries are eager to be associated with the West; whether it

meant emphasising the values of the West or equally emphasising African knowledge systems.

The responses also portray the detachment with which the respondents view internationalisation. Many of the respondents appear resigned to the fact that they do not and cannot have much influence on internationalisation. In my interviews, there appeared to be few respondents, typified by the Vice Chancellor of Mawuta who seem very keen about internationalisation. This finding was intriguing considering the extent to which all the strategic plans and mission statements of the universities seek to create world-class institutions and to position the universities internationally.

Some of the respondents also equated internationalisation with globalisation. However, as confirmed by many writers, though internationalisation and globalisation are related, they are not the same (for example, Altbach and Knight, 2007; Scott, 2006). Altbach and Knight for instance, perceive internationalisation as including, ‘the policies and practices undertaken by academic systems and institutions—and even individuals—to cope with the global academic environment’ (2007: 290). Knight perceives it as ‘a process of integrating an international and cultural dimension into the teaching, research and service functions of the institution’ (2004: 19). Globalisation on the other hand is perceived as the ‘process that is increasing the flow of people, culture, ideas, values, knowledge, technology and economy across borders resulting in a more interconnected and inter-dependent world’ (Ibid). Thus according to Knight while internationalisation mostly is associated with enhancing international and intercultural knowledge, globalisation is related more to the ever increasing global interconnectivity. According to Gacel-Avila (2006), while internationalisation recognises differences among nation states, globalisation denationalizes them and promotes homogeneity.

De Wit (2011) has indicated that when discussing internationalisation, it is

important to draw a distinction between the ‘why’ or the rationales of internationalisation as well as the meanings attached to it. The two should not be muddled together. The next section looks at the rationales respondents attached to internationalisation.

Rationales for internationalisation

The perceptions on internationalisation by the respondents portray five significant interrelated rationales. These are rationales that are seen primarily in terms of: 1) economic and instrumental terms, 2) Exposure and reputation 3) the need for acceptance in the global village, 4) global responsibility to contribute to knowledge, and 5) educational benefits in terms of inter-cultural exchange and the benefits of having international students. Table 5.1 illustrates these differences:

Table 5: 1 Respondents’ Rationales of Internationalisation

RATIONALE	Explanation
1. Economic and instrumental Fees from international students recruitment Global citizen and employment Other financial benefits from collaborations and other international activities	The other financial benefits involve financial benefits such as scholarships, infrastructure and teaching, learning and research resources that the university could accrue from such collaborations and activities

2. Exposure and reputation	Exposure to international community through research and presentation of papers and access to journals for publications; faculty exchange.
Exposure	
Reputation	Reputation involves ability to be counted among the best universities. Reputation also involves the ability to compete and attract international students
3.The need to be accepted in the global village	Principally by the West
4. Global responsibility to contribute to knowledge	Ability to contribute to global knowledge
5. Educational Benefits	Students, academics and administrators being exposed to other cultures
Intercultural Exchange	
Benefits from having foreign students in class	For class discussion and future benefits from connections made and networking

The Economic and instrumental rationales

The spread of neoliberal economic thinking has made economic and instrumental factors the major rationales for internationalisation. Three of these rationales I identified during the interviews are the following:

Fees from international students

Fees generated from international students constitute a major source of income for the universities. This is especially with the University of Mawuta followed by University of

Ndebang, which are able to attract more international students. The Vice Chancellor of the University of Mawuta did not mince his words when he indicated that his main aim of turning the University into a world-class institution is to attract international students. In his speech at the 50th anniversary of internationalisation of the University he stated that in addition to the other benefits of recruiting international students, ‘...there is money to be made, money to be made... no one can deny that.’

Though the actual income from international students was not disclosed, an inference could be made from the high fees paid by international students as presented in table 5. 2 in the appendix. For selected courses, the fees for international courses range between 6 to 22 times the fees for local students. For the University of Mawuta, international student fees are 16 to 22 times the fees of regular local students. For University of Ndebang, international student fees are 12 to 13 times the fees of regular local students. For the University of Ojo, international student fees are 6 to 7 times the fees of regular local students.

The University of Mawuta has the highest concentration of international students and the Vice Chancellor emphasised that many of the projects the University is embarking on have been made possible because of fees paid by international students. The University of Ojo is the least able to attract international students. It was indicated that this was due to unfavourable conditions including the location, distance from Accra, limited infrastructure and, not least, harsh and extreme weather conditions.

Altbach and Knight (2007) have identified economic benefits as a major motivator of internationalisation strategies of universities worldwide. Harris (2007) has indicated, whilst discussing dominant conditions characterising many universities, that ‘knowledge...has become an important marketable good’ (Ibid: 107). Similar to the observations of Harris, Naidoo acknowledges that these economic rationales are linked to

the perception of higher education as a 'lucrative service that can be sold in the global market place (2010: 250). But Harris has raised a concern about the privileging of economic over other benefits of internationalisation such as educational and cultural (2007, 2008, 2011). She argues that there is a need for the intrinsic value of knowledge to be appreciated and valued.

The need for a global citizen

Almost all respondents of the universities emphasised the need of the institutions to produce global citizens as a main rationale for internationalisation. A common view across the three universities was the ability of graduates to pursue further studies and work in any part of the world. The Head of Department of Agriculture at the University of Mawuta said:

I am looking at training from the perspective of a university lecturer. I am looking at training a student who upon graduation, would be able to work in any related field of agriculture anywhere in the world, either in a government organisation, a non- governmental organisation, even setting up a partnership and working on their own or with some other people. So I am looking at how we can train an agricultural graduate who will fit into every society worldwide. You are not training somebody to focus on only Ghana. Even if it is geared towards Ghana you want to look at tropical crop production so that they can work in any tropical environment. (Head of Department of Agriculture, University of Mawuta)

This statement which also reflects many of the respondents' views, fits what can be perceived as an economic definition of a global citizen by Noddings. According to Noddings, 'a global citizen is one who can live and work effectively anywhere in the world' (2005: 2-3). In recent years, the idea of a 'global citizen' has become a global buzzword. A major concern and expectation of many universities is to 'produce' 'global

citizens'. As indicated by Suárez-Orozco and Sattin (2007: 58), 'the world needs young people who are culturally sophisticated and prepared to work in an international environment'. Gacil-Avila has also indicated that a question that should be asked is 'how can institutions of higher education adequately prepare their graduates to live and participate as global citizens and professionals (2006: 123).

Many writers, however, have attested to the problematic nature of 'global citizenship' (Carter 2001; Noddings, 2005; Sheppard 2004). Some of the problematic aspects of the 'global citizen' are the definition, process and assessment of what global citizenship is. For example, according to Noddings (2005), there is a challenge whether 'global citizenship' should be perceived in the economic, political or cultural framework. Again, as she notes, there is a challenge whether nationalism should be prioritised over globalism. There is also a challenge, according to her, of the particular cultures to be adopted. As she emphasised, whilst 'some think that there could be- even that there should be- a global way of life...it usually looks suspiciously like their own way' (Ibid: 2). In many cases, I would argue, in support with many postcolonial theorists (for example, Fanon 2008, Young, 2003) this way of life would be that of Western countries. Sheppard (2004), on another hand, indicates that even while the universities could develop global citizenship in the student, it is the student who will decide whether to be a global citizen.

Financial benefits accrued from collaborations and other joint programmes

Some respondents perceived collaborations with foreign universities in financial terms. About ten of the respondents, for instance, considered the scholarships, the infrastructure and the teaching, learning and research resources that the university could accrue from such collaborations. An Assistant Registrar in one of the International offices in one of the universities commented on how the Vice Chancellor always wants the University to benefit one way or the other from collaborations.

The VC [Vice Chancellor] does not encourage where we would lose, we always have to win. The developing countries, to the VC, should win.

This means that there should always be some material and financial gains. Such reasoning, I would argue may be due to the neoliberal thinking where, as discussed under 1.2. everything is perceived in monetary and profit terms. As Ball equally attests about schools, ‘they are being encouraged and required to become more like and act more like businesses, that is to compete, to promote themselves and to be enterprises’ (2013, p. 15). And this means emphasising profit.

Exposure and reputation

Another rationale for internationalisation is to achieve and sustain exposure to the international community through, for example, faculty exchange and collaboration, publication in international journals and presentation of papers, and the undertaking of research. It also includes student exchanges.

Exposure to the international community also helps to build the reputation of a university. The sense of reputation could be perceived in two ways. Firstly, reputation in terms of having the best name in teaching, research, publication, best awards and best students. Secondly, reputation could also be linked to economic rationales in terms of aiming to attract students and international collaborations. This use of reputation presently is especially attached to the university ranking systems which has become a catalyst for students’ selection of universities (Altbach, Reisberg and Rumbley 2009; Mok and Cheung, 2011; Rauhvargers 2011).

What appears to be a natural response to many universities around the world, in an era of marked competition among world universities, is not just to position themselves in the international arena but to aspire to be among the top (Altbach and Salmi, 2011; Rauhvargers 2011). All universities wish to be ranked because ‘if you are not in the tables – you don’t exist’ (Salmi 2010: 16). Altbach and Balan describe the world class concept as

‘a shorthand term indicating that a university is among the most prestigious and renowned academic institutions internationally’ (2007: 7). Justin Lin, in Salmi (2009), indicated that world class means more than just educational institutions. They are ‘points of pride and comparison among nations that view their own status in relation to other nations’ (Ibid: x). Knight (2011) and De Wit (2011) however, cautioned against equating internationalisation with reputation. The fact that a university has a high number of international students does not necessarily make it a reputable university.

In terms of collaborations with the North, some respondents indicated that in spite of certain advantages and benefits, in some cases, they had felt some collaborative partners perceive them in a subservient position. My interactions with a university in the UK which sought to seek collaborations with institutions in Africa, seem to confirm these observations from respondents. In my interactions, I noted how one of the officers in charge of international recruitment emphasised the privileges Ghanaian students will have to possess a UK certificate; of course not the other way round. In another instance, when I suggested the possibility of a split programme for PhD students from Ghana where students will do some of the years in Ghana and some abroad, this officer explained that he does not know how the academics at the UK university will accept that because in most cases they would want to have students with some ‘particular standards’ - implying that students trained in Ghana could be ‘below standard’.

Educational Benefits

The educational benefits cited by respondents were put into two main categories. The first is intercultural exchange. One respondent puts it this way:

I think internationalisation should mean there is that intercultural learning... our students go there and sit in their classrooms... and their students also come for the trimester programme... (Associate Professor, University of Ojo).

However, intercultural exchange is assumed by the majority of the respondents to be embedded in international programmes or as a by-product of internationalisation. If there is a student exchange programme, it is assumed that the international student will automatically acquire the necessary inter-cultural knowledge desired. According to Knight's definition of internationalisation stated earlier, intercultural learning is supposed to be the core of internationalisation and it is supposed to be an integral aspect of the curriculum. It appears however, that presently, the economic aspect is foregrounded while the cultural aspect is put in the background. Harris reiterates the need for national cultures and difference to be emphasised and appreciated. As she says: 'The idea of internationalisation reminds us that there is more than one culture and that there is a (potential relation) between cultures'. (2007: 129) According to Gacel-Avila, in the context of ever global interdependence, there is the need for universities to enhance global awareness among students. The universities should develop in students:

An understanding of their own and other cultures and respect for pluralism. All these aspects are the foundations of solidarity and peaceful coexistence among nations and of true global citizenship (2006: 123).

The second type of educational benefit mentioned by some respondents is that obtained from having foreign students in class. These include the opportunity to learn from international students in a class, especially in some courses, and upon graduating, benefiting from connections and networking. The Director of the International office of the University of Ndebang emphasised that, 'exchange of students and ideas is additional quality of education itself'. The policy report of the 1994 group of universities in the United Kingdom acknowledges that 'International students bring diversity and dynamism to campuses leading to better student experience on campus' (p. 7). This rationale was however hardly covered by respondents perhaps because in the universities, international students have limited exchanges with their Ghanaian counterparts as quite often special

courses and classes are designed for them, sometimes during the time of the year when most students are on holidays and are not on campus (i.e. trimester programmes). Again, because they often can afford them, many of the international students are accommodated in more expensive and exclusive hostels outside the reach of the average Ghanaian student.

The need for acceptance in the global village

The ‘Global village’ seems to be a catch phrase for the majority of the respondents. And as could be seen from the discourses on internationalisation, a major need of the universities is to be accepted in this ‘global village’ which also means to be accepted worldwide. This need has also arisen due to the subtle move towards homogeneity and standardization in higher education worldwide. It is significant to say that though the need to be globally accepted appears common in universities worldwide (Altbach and Salmi, 2011; De wit 2010; Knight 2008, Mok and Cheung, 2011), I will argue that the nature of discourses and assumptions underpinning responses of the universities in Ghana are suggestive of a need to please the international community rather than as contributing as equal members to inter-national efforts and policies. In many cases, when the universities are thinking of the need to be accepted in the global village, their main concern is to be accepted by the West.

In discussing this need to be accepted in the global village and importance of homogeneity, very few of the respondents mentioned the opposite: the need for Western societies to be accepted in Ghana. Ngugi W’athiongo and his two colleagues asked a pertinent question decades ago, regarding their famous comments on a paper presented by the Acting Head at the 42nd Meeting of the Arts Faculty Board in the University of Nairobi, in 1968. The paper emphasised the importance of English literature. Ngugi asked, ‘if [for instance] there is the need for a “study of the historic continuity of a single culture”, why can’t this be African? Why can’t African literature be at the centre so that we view other cultures in relationship to it?’ (Ngugi Wa Thiongo’O 1995: 439). In response to such resistances, a department with great emphasis on African literature was created to replace

the English department (Amoko, 2010). In my thesis I too will question the need for homogeneity and a global village and ask why there is no place for African perspectives.

Much literature on postcolonialism suggests that beyond political independence, many Africans were not emancipated from the psychological domination of the West (Bhabha, 2004; Fanon, 2004, 2008, Labakeng, *et. al.*, 2006; Rizvi, *et. al.*, 2006). In the Ghanaian setting, it could be argued that many of the assumptions underlying knowledge contestations and the universities' efforts to strategize, and the strategies adopted in the curriculum are undergirded by these colonial influences. Many of the policies confirm and perpetuate the 'myth' of Western superiority: everything emanating from the West is good. They also confirm the sense of inferiority and 'dependency syndrome' believed to have been generated and perpetuated by colonialism (Labakeng, *et. al.*, 2006: 73). Dirlik (1994), in consonance with many postcolonial theorists, has indicated the need to have an historical understanding that contemporary discourses on the need for enhanced relationship among world universities and nations cannot be disassociated from its roots in the European projects of imperialism. According to him it is important:

To interpret contemporary ideological constructions of globalisation historically, rather than as a set of naturalized economic processes operating in a reified fashion. Unless this is done, many of the neo-liberal ideas that have become hegemonic in recent years will continue to appear as a natural and inevitable response to the steering logics of economic globalisation.

In spite of all the efforts of the universities to position themselves internationally, there has been little change in the way in which Africa is perceived. Neither has it changed the position of Africa from the periphery to the centre or the superiority of the West. If anything at all, as indicated by many postcolonial theorists, it has made it worse (Bhabha 2009; Fanon 2008; Ritzvi, *et. al.*, 2006). This could be perceived for instance, from

international university rankings and collaborations. As mentioned earlier, in the global rankings of the world universities, apart from the University of Cape Town in South Africa which historically has been a white university, no university in the sub-Saharan Africa appears in the first 200. The position of African universities continues to reinforce the notion of inferiority of the African continent, and continue to position academics and students from African universities in certain positions.

Global responsibility

Many African academics have noted the need for universities in Africa to emphasise their own contribution to the international market (for example, Ashby 1967; Sawyerr, 2004). One rationale respondents assigned to internationalisation is the global responsibility of sharing one's knowledge. Sharing one's views, as indicated by respondents also means identifying local problems and indigenous ways of doing things in the communities, devising approaches to addressing them, and generating and sharing endogenous knowledge system. Respondents who spoke about this were from the Universities of Ndebang and Ojo. At the University of Ndebang, this rationale was cited mainly by the Department of agriculture extension services. The Head of Department gave examples of how many African countries have replicated their Supervised Enterprise Projects (SEPs). This programme involves a university-community engagement where students go to communities, identify problems and together with the community members identify solutions to the problems. He indicated that the programme so far has been attractive to African countries probably because the problems they seek to address are Africa- related programmes. Details of this programme are given in chapter six.

The University of Ojo has indicated how it seeks to penetrate the international domain with its Third Trimester Programme (Third Trimester Field Work Programme) which is equally a university-community engagement to penetrate the international world. As the Head for the community programme stressed:

The University's way of integrating internationalisation is not for us to become international but to let our knowledge also be part of the international knowledge system. We are not much into bringing more international knowledge but want recognition by the international community body of our existing knowledge systems so we, instead of taking students out, students should rather come to us and learn. They should come and participate in our practical way of training. They should come and experience the developmental challenges, so we want to send out knowledge...ahaa, so our emphasis is how to let people recognise us. ... This is the way out.

Ironically, the University of Mawuta, which is the most vocal on internationalisation, did not identify benefits accruing from the strategy. When the Vice Chancellor was challenged by some members of the audience, after his lecture on the 65 years of internationalisation, on the need for the University to identify its strength to contribute to the internationalisation process he admitted, 'one of the things I struggle with each day is to identify our strength'. This statement was met with a lot of giggling among the audience which comprised staff, students, the diplomatic core and other invited guests. The giggling was not an expression of opposition to what the VC said but an indication of the fact that the University does not have an area of major strength or distinction.

The perceived lack of strength or expertise of the University was also confirmed in an off-the-record conversation with an administrator of one of the supervisory bodies of higher education institutions in Ghana. Without any expertise, I argue, how does the University become world class? And how will it compete with leading universities? Without any expertise, why is the University so obsessed with internationalisation? With what and how will it contribute to the international arena including its own national agenda?

Ashby (1967) has indicated that until Africa contributes to global knowledge, it would continue to be at the periphery of the global arena. The Institute of African studies at the University of Mawuta was set up as one of the major institutions to help the University and African universities in general to fulfil their mandate of enhancing the pride of Africans in general in their heritage. It was also to help promote African indigenous knowledge systems internationally. According to Kwame Nkrumah, the first president of Ghana, ‘the Institute [was to] re-assess and assert the glories and achievements of our African past and inspire our generation’ (Nkrumah, 2012).

Africanisation and indigenous knowledge systems

Dr. Kwame Nkrumah made efforts to introduce Africanisation into the curricula of the universities after the country achieved independence in 1957 (see introductory chapter). This attempt, however, was resisted by the academia and largely failed. Partly for this reason, the term Africanisation is not a common terminology in Ghana as it is in places like South Africa. Rather, it is the term ‘Indigenous Knowledge Systems, (IKS)’ which is more widespread in Ghana. Indigenous knowledge systems, generally are the traditional, non-western beliefs, practices, customs and world views, and frequently also refer to alternative, informal forms of knowledge (Horthsmeke, 2004: 32). It is the ‘cultural traditions, values, belief systems and world views that, in any indigenous society are imparted to the younger generation by community elders’ (Dei, 2002, p. 5).

Meanings attached to Africanisation

Below, I introduce how Africanisation is perceived among the respondents.

What is it to Africanise, we are Africans, what is it to Africanise? You see Africans like to hide behind some of these concepts... you don’t hide behind concepts like

Africanisation, Africannes to remain aloof, to let the world go and leave you behind. That is why we are suffering. So I am always willing to fight the African that uses those kinds of expressions in order not to do what they have to do (Vice Chancellor, University of Mawuta).

I am not very sure I know what Africanisation is but well from the name I think I can have a reasonable idea of what it is. I think it refers to the adaptation of the academic programmes to suit the African context. Em I wouldn't endorse, I wouldn't endorse a very strict form of this. I think there can be some positive aspects to the extent that may be courses offered could be made more relevant to local circumstances (Academic, Economics, University of Mawuta).

I think that is one area, one area some of us feel that for too long we have been basing everything we do on what has been developed for the advanced countries. All the theories that we learn now are theories for advanced economies (Dean of Arts, University of Ndebang)

It means having lecturers there who appreciate and understand what Africans do, and exist to ensure that the curriculum leads to what people are doing, how they can help people change, move on and improve on their life situation. It is not about having black men and women who will think and act like white men. In all the things we do whether research or teaching, the essence is to ensure that our people's way of life: cultural systems, farming systems are clear...adequately researched... (Dean, Social Science, University of Ndebang).'

Africanisation should not be excluding others. We can identify our lapses and look at our projections and see what we can do. We cannot run away from the fact that they are developed in every aspect and we need partner with them in development

... We should also not try to be too afrocentric' (Academic, African studies Department, university of Ojo).

Africanisation appears more contested than internationalisation among the respondents. The term typified by the statement of the Vice Chancellor of Mawuta, was perceived by some respondents as involving radical changes in the universities, such as exclusive use of African languages and textbooks. Parker expressed this concern when he said that "There is a danger that this form of 'Africanism' becomes isolationist and exclusionary of the non-African" (2003: 32). It is this perception that prompted the Vice Chancellor of the University of Mawuta to make the above quoted statement, asking 'what is it to Africanise'? The assumption underlying this question is that since Africanisation is perceived as impossible or impracticable (Crossman, 2004), advocates of the concept will use its perceived impracticability as a pretext to be lazy. For instance, since, it is almost impossible to publish in an African local dialect, the concern is that academics may use it as a pretext not to publish. Other respondents, however, perceived it as basing the curriculum on the African context and this is typified by the perception of the Dean of Arts, University of Ndebang. Many of the respondents interchanged Africanisation with emphasis on Indigenous Knowledge Systems (IKS). In this section I will be interchanging the concepts according to how particular respondents used them.

Similar to respondents reactions to Africanisation, there have been mixed reactions to Africanisation and indigenous knowledge systems in the literature. For instance while Sawyerr (2004) perceives it as 'critical' to the future of African universities and their ability to contribute to world knowledge, Horthsmeke has indicated that the appeal to IKS as a counter measure against the domination of the West is misguided. According to him, IKS 'involves at best an incomplete, partial or, at worst, a questionable understanding or conception of knowledge' (2004: 32). Many of its challenges include a lack of definition of what the concept actually is (Ibid).

Crossman (2004) carried out a two-year research project on 'Africanisation' of universities in Africa. He also carried out a ten-year action research on how it has impacted on curriculum reforms. His findings showed that only a small minority of African scholars fully accept the notion of Africanisation and promoted it in a concrete way. Many of the reasons identified by Crossman, in his research on why academics reject the 'Africanisation concept, include: 1) their perception of the concept as impracticable in the universities, 2) as emphasising exclusion from globalisation, and 3) as impeding unified science. A unified science theory holds that all sciences share the same language, laws, and method or at least one or two of these features (Encyclopaedia Britannica). According to Causey (1974), it partly involves reduction of all theories into one fundamental theory. I would say, in most cases this 'unified science' means 'western science'. These findings are very similar to the views of respondents who rejected the Africanisation concept, especially respondents at the University of Mawuta.

Advocates of Africanisation, however, do not perceive it as an exclusive concept. Makgoba for instance sees Africanisation as:

... A learning process and a way of life for Africans. It involves incorporating, adapting and integrating other cultures into and through African visions to provide the dynamism, evolution and flexibility so essential in the global village (1997: 199).

This statement explains that Africanisation is perceived as a way to maintain African identity and help the universities contribute meaningfully to the international agenda and knowledge systems. It also provides a means to meaningfully address local problems. Respondents in my study mentioned various reasons why they think Africanisation and/or

indigenous knowledge systems should be an integral part of the curriculum. The next section discusses these rationales.

Rationales for Indigenous Knowledge systems (IKS)/Africanisation

The rationales for IKS/Africanisation identified are that it is essential for national development; that it enhances the individual's identity, its social-cultural benefits; its educational benefits; its environmental benefits; renewed world recognition; and its moral benefits.

National development

Integration of IKS was identified by a majority of the respondents as the surest means of enhancing national economic development. As the two Heads of Department at the University of Ndebang indicated:

We feel that probably the pace at which we are developing is not so fast because we are not fully aware of what our economies are. So if we can get back to try and understand more and then apply whatever our situation is now to whatever we are teaching and in terms of research, that will help us to drive the economy ahead (Head of Department, Economics).

These graduates [from the Ghanaian universities] are supposed to solve problems within their own communities but they come out of the universities without any skills whatsoever to solve the problems. What happens is that the curricula of the universities are so Eurocentric, so Eurocentric, in such a way that they are not tailored to suit the particular developmental needs of developing countries, particularly in Africa. So we think that we cannot do away with our culture and develop. Culture forms the main basis of our development (Head of Department, African Studies).

These statements reflect the concern expressed by many of the respondents over the dominance of Western theories in addressing local needs. In the end many of these

Western theories do not work and hence the consistent limited ‘development’ in many African countries. According to these statements, Africanisation /IKS will help to develop local solutions to local needs.

An academic in the Economics Department at the University of Ndebang attributed brain drain which has plagued the African continent to limited emphasis on indigenous knowledge systems in the universities. According to him:

...they will go through the system but will not understand the core values in terms of their country. Their aim will be to get out of the country. If they are made to understand their values, they will try to appreciate more what they have rather than trying to leave their country.

The assumption here is that if the indigenous knowledge system is emphasised, students would value their country and be more patriotic. Graduates from the universities will be prepared to help build the society with their knowledge instead of travelling out of the country. Retention of ‘brains’ in the country will enhance its development.

Respondents mentioned other benefits including interest in locally manufactured goods, which would help enhance the development of the national economy. This is a view shared by Sawyerr (2004) who argues that hegemony of western knowledge systems has developed local taste for foreign goods. He believes emphasis on indigenous knowledge systems would encourage local taste for local goods, which would enhance local industries.

Development of national identity

Almost all respondents at the Universities of Ndebang and Ojo believed that promoting IKS would enhance the identity of Africans. A respondent, who is a professor and advocate of Africanism at the University of Ojo, emphasised this perspective as follows:

It is a strategic decision that we as people of this continent have to make if we are to survive a world that is aggressively globalising. And my position is that you have to strengthen your home before you can compete in this aggressive globalisation. I am not trying to deny other experiences. Everyone - Britain, Germany, France, and indeed most nations are promoting their culture. The French and Chinese are all over the place. Where is African culture? We need to make a deliberate effort to build and grow African culture so that when we speak to other people as Africans, they will hear us as Africans not as English people. The survival of this continent depends on that, on Africanisation policy so we can integrate better. I don't want integration without me. I want to be part of that integration. Globalisation is not about the disappearance of other cultures (Marian, University of Ojo)

Horthsmeke (2004) has argued against IKS as a channel to enhance African identity. According to him there is not a single African identity across the African societies. I would argue, however, that maintaining an African identity is important to development and survival in an ever-shrinking world. How will someone know where s/he is going if s/he does not know who s/he is and where s/he is coming from? Though Africa has many cultures and traditions there are many common ones which span across space and time on the continent, and which are shared by many people on the continent than in Europe, America or Asia (Metz, 2007). An example is the value of Ubuntu. The Ubuntu is perceived as a Xhosa proverbial expression which means that '...each individual's humanity is ideally expressed in relationship with others...Or a person depends on other persons to be a person' (Battle 1996: 99).

According to Beets and le Grange, Ubuntu 'is to be aware of one's own being, but also of one's duties towards one's neighbour' (2005: 1200). The values of Ubuntu are commonly upheld in almost every African country.

Social- cultural Rationales

In an era of market-centred principles and individualism, respondents emphasised the need for IKS to ensure a sense of love, humanism, care and responsibility. The former Vice Chancellor at the University of Ndebang had this to say about the need to emphasise IKS:

It is important. It is important...people talk about science and technology. I agree but at the same time you need to produce a scientist who is humane, who understands his culture; a scientist who understands his/her environment; a scientist who understands the kind of people and the belief systems of his/her people
(Former Vice chancellor, University of Ndebang)

This statement attests to the importance of indigenous knowledge systems in helping to develop in people care, love and the humane attitudes and behaviours needed in society. Burke and Jackson (2007), in discussing how certain knowledge are privileged while others are marginalised in the context of lifelong learning expressed similar arguments. They indicate that in the neoliberal era, knowledge which are ‘scientific, rational, objective, specialised, technological and apolitical traits that are closely tied up with masculinised, middle-classed and white racialised ways...’ are privileged. They indicate however, that there is the need for certain feminised traits...including, for example being friendly, providing “customer care”, being flexible’ (Ibid: 29). Apusiga (2011) has argued the importance of IKS in enhancing and sustaining such care, love and friendliness in a community. This notion resonates with the concept of ‘Ubuntu’ as explained above. Such communal relationship, as discussed in the chapter on literature review, is not espoused by present dominating neoliberal thoughts and practices. As indicated by Desjardins, neoliberal thoughts ‘refutes the idea that increasing social dependence is a viable solution to economic and social ills’ (2013: 186).

In the interviews many respondents bemoaned individualism, self-centeredness,

selfishness and corruption as some of the most precarious challenges in Ghana. They asked for a curriculum that will address behavioural and attitudinal changes in students. They perceived these problems as important as the need for employment and poverty alleviation. In fact many perceived attitudinal changes as major conduits for poverty alleviation. In an era where almost everything is perceived in monetary, material and individual terms, it is hoped that IKS will enable people to have the love and care that are needed to sustain the people.

Educational Rationale

The respondents showed educational benefits as one of the most important reasons of indigenous knowledge systems. According to the respondents, a major aim of education is to inculcate cherished societal values, which are vital in the socialisation process of the child. It is therefore important that students are trained to inculcate in themselves the cherished indigenous knowledge systems in society. As a Head of Department at the University of Ndebang said:

The curriculum of the university was fashioned out by the colonial masters to meet the needs of the colonial masters of the time. So universities over the years produced graduates that do not fit into the society, that are very ignorant about their own environment (Head of Department, University of Ndebang).

This statement reflects what a Head of Department of Agriculture at the University of Mawuta said in describing her own educational experiences:

As I sit here my bearing is terrible. I can even say river Pra is in Greater Accra, because I don't know. Indeed if not opportunities to learn African history at the university, I may be one walking Academic who doesn't even know where Ghana is.

These and similar responses reflect what Higgs in discussing higher education in the

Southern African context argued that ‘African philosophy will help to provide a useful. . . framework for the construction of empowering knowledge that will enable communities in South Africa to participate in their own educational development’ (Higgs, 2003: 5). This argument, I would say is also applicable in the Ghanaian and many other African context. Writers such as Msila (2002) and Apusiga (2011) have indicated in relation to IKS that it is important that issues are not romanticised. Practices and attitudes that would not be helpful should be discarded. The ability to determine what is to be discarded and what is to be included as indigenous knowledge has been difficult since what is determined to be useful or not is complex and contested.

Environmental Rationale

Respondents emphasised the importance of IKS in sustaining the environment. Almost every respondent talked about perceived myths and taboos in time past which according to them, achieved easily what present scientific discourses are unable to achieve. An example is sustainability of the environment. According to respondents, in the olden days, people were prevented from depleting the forests and the rivers by certain taboos and myths. Presently, because of stronger beliefs in science and Christianity, such myths and taboos do not exist anymore, and the forests and rivers continue to be depleted. A respondent who is a Professor and Director of Quality Assurance at the University of Ndebang said:

The way our people preserved the environment, if we take cognisance of that, tree felling will be minimised. In every village they left a grove, now they have cleared all those groves. We did not explain to our students the rationales behind the groves¹³ and related taboos. If graduates are told these values, they will understand and will be able to explain to people who will listen to them, because it is coming

¹³ A Grove was a group of trees reserved in many local communities and villages and which were forbidden to any person to enter or have any activity doing there. It was assumed that anybody who entered any of these trees without the appropriate permission from the gods will attract a curse or a punishment from the gods or the chiefs of the land. These groves and associated taboos prevented depletion of trees and helped to reserve various forest areas.

from graduates. If a modern chief is clearing the land, the graduates will be able to explain to him the adverse effects (Professor and Director of Quality Assurance, University of Ndebang).

The formal Vice Chancellor of the University of Ndebang also had this to say:

If you can encourage people to understand the basis of the belief systems, we can simply find physical answers to physical problems that we face (former VC, University of Ndebang).

These responses typically reflect how many respondents believe the indigenous belief systems are still applicable to Ghanaian universities, and how these beliefs could help address many of the country's environmental challenges. Apusiga (2011) has also emphasised how the belief systems including myths and taboos help to sustain the environment from unwarranted exploitation. In the former times, under the guise of offending deities, people were prevented from entering preserved forests, from fishing on certain days and killing of certain animals. These prevented the depletion of the forests and fishes and extinction of species of animals. Under Christianity, modernity and Western education, the environment is being depleted with careless abandonment. Thus, it is perceived by respondents that the curriculum could find a way of addressing this problem to ensure sustainability of the environment.

Renewed world recognition

Re-awakening interest nationally and internationally was cited as major reasons why Africanisation or indigenous knowledge systems should be emphasised in the curriculum. At the international level, a professor at the University of Ojo and also an advocate of IKS explained:

It's already happening. Now World Bank projects want to have a local content (they do not want to use Endogenous so they use local content). The recognition is glowing (Pro Vice Chancellor, University of Ojo).

This respondent's assertion is in line with various political developments occurring on the African continent where the Africanisation concept has become the guiding framework. These include the establishment of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) and African Union-European Union (AU-EU) relationships (Esmenjaud, and Franke, 2008; Mboup 2008; Nkuhlu, 2005). This statement also resonates with my experiences in London when some of my colleagues asked about their wish to hear about Africa, but especially from Africans. At the national level, another professor of Ojo explained that improved socio-economic development and the diversification of programmes by the universities have rekindled interest in indigenous knowledge systems.

Moral Rationales

Some respondents believe that there is a moral justification for IKS to be integrated into the curriculum. For them, IKS has to do with the belief systems and traditions of Africans and it is a societal responsibility to teach them to the younger generation. According to the former Vice Chancellor of the University of Ndebang:

Whether we like it or not, we are dealing with a group of people who have belief systems and practices'.

This statement indicates that it is obligatory that the cultural base of the society is emphasised in the curriculum. Students can simply not be denied their cultural heritage and knowledge systems. As Dei has emphasised, 'It is knowledge that is crucial for the survival of society' (2002: 5).

Many other respondents emphasised the importance of IKS in enhancing the moral behaviours of students. Such moral behaviours include respect, proper dressing and other traditionally accepted behaviours. The Director of the Quality Assurance Unit of the University of Ndebang said:

Our traditional system talked a lot about respect. Now if you walk down the corridor and meet hundred students and if one of them greets you, you are lucky. But in the past, twenty years ago, when a student met a lecturer, he/she would greet but now university students meet their lecturers and they don't know how to say good morning, because they have not been trained to do that. One would have thought that with Christianity and so on, people would have been taught to be more respectful. They get up, they do their morning devotion, and when they come out they cannot say good morning (Professor and Director of the Quality Assurance Unit, University of Ndebang).

As indicated in this statement, the majority lamented about the waning of moral behaviours, including respect of the elderly, which are perceived to be the bedrock of African tradition and culture. It is hoped that emphasis on indigenous knowledge systems will help imbibe the long cherished values of the society in students.

A significant but worrying observation I made was the contention among academics, even among those who advocate for indigenous knowledge systems, about which knowledge systems to include and which to exclude. During the International conference on indigenous knowledge systems, which I mentioned earlier, whilst some participants thought local languages are important to enhance local culture, others thought the local languages were not important. Again, whilst others thought some indigenous practises should be discarded in a modern and globalised world, others thought all should

be inclusive. These contestations confirm Bhabha's concern about knowledge contestations in former colonised countries. According to him:

...Despite shared histories of deprivation and discrimination, the exchange of values, meanings and priorities may not always be collaborative and dialogical, but may be profoundly antagonistic, conflictual and even incommensurable (1994: 2)

He then asked a very crucial question:

How do strategies of representation or empowerment come to be formulated in the competing claims of communities? (Ibid) It is important that these academics eliminate bitter contentions so they could formulate effective strategies to enhance indigenous knowledge systems in the country.

Another disturbing trend found in the data was the derogatory way in which the term 'Africanisation' is used. Most respondents perceived Africanisation as something primitive in the sense of inferior or underdeveloped. Respondents always cited primitive things as examples of Africanisation. For instance, many made references to using the hoe to farm instead of mechanisation. At the International conference to enhance indigenous knowledge systems at the University of Ojo, a participant asked why microphones are being used at the conference by which she meant if Africanisation is being promoted then what is perceived as modern instruments should be discarded.

Such ideas resonate with concerns of postcolonial theorists. As Nkrumah (2012) emphasises, in the periods of colonisation and slavery, African music and dancing, for instance, were labelled as 'primitive arts'. These negative perceptions of Africa have been so emphasised that many Africans find it difficult to think positively about anything African. As Labakeng *et.al.* have argued, Africans often seem suspicious about anything African.

Whatever knowledge emanated from indigenous Africa was [is] considered defective, inferior and in need of being developed and refined through westernisation (2006: 72).

Dei has indicated that the ‘traditional/modern’ split is an attractive allegory and is offered up as ‘ridiculous imagery’ to silence any emphasis on African knowledge systems and values (2011: 5). Such images are also to emphasise the ‘over-simplification of African culture’ (Ibid). However, as Said, a central figure in postcolonial theory has emphasised, when we talk about the backwardness of indigenous knowledge systems, there is the need to know that ‘such notions as modernity, enlightenment and democracy are by no means simple and agreed upon concepts that one either does or does not find, like Easter eggs in the living-room’ (2003: xiv).

While all respondents in all the universities perceived developmental needs as diverse, the majority of the respondents mentioned the need to provide employment and address poverty as the overall developmental need of the country. Others are the provision of basic infrastructure and public services, including good roads, quality health services and education, transport, food security and good drinking water. Respondents also mentioned the need for industrialization and technological development whilst others drew attention to the need to bridge the gap between the poor and the rich and improve access to education across the regions of Ghana. Addressing corruption was another important concern as was the need to rise above partisan politics.

Almost all the needs expressed by the respondents reflect government perceptions of the developmental needs of Ghana as expressed in various government documents and national addresses. Many government strategies and policies for instance target poverty alleviation and employment creation. These government strategies and policies include the Ghana Shared Growth and Development Agenda (GSGDA), 2010-2013, the Coordinated Programme of Economic and Social Development Policies, 2010-2016 and various poverty

reduction strategies. The GSGDA 2010-2013, for instance, is targeted at accelerating employment creation and income generation for poverty reduction and shared growth, where shared growth means economic growth to which the poor contribute and benefit from.

Employment and poverty alleviation

A key to poverty alleviation is seen as improving the employability of university graduates. The need to meet the diverse developmental needs of the country is a driving force for the introduction of new courses and programmes and the diversification of curriculum.

Given the difficulty graduates from the universities in Ghana face in obtaining employment and the large and growing unemployment of graduates in the country, the respondents emphasised: 1) the need to train students and equip them with entrepreneurial skills to be able to establish their own businesses and 2) the need to train ‘technical’ men (i.e. the need to put emphasis on technical education¹⁴). Though there are limited national statistics of government to determine the exact number of unemployed graduates, the Vice Chancellor of the University of Mawuta in his speech at the launch of ISSER’s report on the state of the economy said that about 50% of students who leave the universities would not gain employment for about two years after national service and about 20% of that will not find jobs for about three years.

With the limited funding and infrastructure at the universities, a major challenge, according to respondents, is how the universities can provide practical knowledge instead of what is referred to as ‘bookish’ or theoretical knowledge. I argue, as in the next chapter that with these challenges, the universities are being pushed to employ a reductive view of

¹⁴ Ghana has 10 public polytechnic institutions in Ghana which provide technical and vocational education but there are constant calls on the universities to produce graduates with more practical knowledge of their field.

higher education which has become dominant in the global discourse. Globally, there is a kind of dominant discourse that universities should engage with industries to prepare students for the job market and this raises questions about the nature and purpose of higher education and the forms of knowledge that is needed to prepare students. I argue however, that the debate should be carefully explored so as not to have reductive views of higher education.

The developmental discourses

It could be argued that many of the perceived developmental needs are in the framework of development as defined, perceived and ‘imposed’ by world international organisations and Western countries, including the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). There are narrow economic measurements such as growth in GDP per capita and financial wealth. However, the definition of national developmental needs is not without dispute among the universities in Ghana. The Dean of the Social Science Department and a professor of Development studies of the University of Ndebang observed as follows:

Developmental needs are the same everywhere, the needs are there for everybody to see but the point is how do you define these needs? Who defines these needs? These are defined by global powers...(Dean of Social Science, University of Ndebang)

This statement from the respondent shows the influence of dominant Western economies such as USA and the difficulty of countries tagged as ‘developing’ in defining their own perception of development, constructing development indicators and effectively addressing developmental challenges. Many international goals including the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and Education For All (EFA) set by Western international organisations and countries, including the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) confirm the influence of Western international organisations on the discourse

on the developmental needs of a country and means of addressing them. The MDGs for instance, involve shared and ‘focused global development objectives’ which combine efforts of various groups and organisations, including national governments and the international community to achieve the goals (the European Report on Development, 2013).

This reflects Monbiot’s argument in his book ‘The age of consent: A manifesto for a new world order’. Here he comments that ‘everything has been globalised except our consent’ (2004: 1). He goes on to lament the fact that a ‘handful of men in the richest nations use the global powers they have assumed to tell the rest of the world how to live’ (Ibid). Many developing countries do not have strong economies and have little influence with international organisations such as the IMF. Other critics have also expressed their misgivings about the one-way in which development is perceived, which is based on the Western model. According to Singh in Gupta, development ‘has been narrowly identified with material development alone’ (2010: 7). The Western model is based on narrow economic metrics such as growth in GDP per capita (Internet encyclopedia of philosophy). This narrow perception ignores other factors enhancing wellbeing including good health, mental health and peace of mind. According to Gupta, this Western model, ‘instead of solving the problems, actually creates and aggravates problems...inequalities all over the world’ (2010 p. 15). There is also a ‘decline in ethical, cultural and human values and degradation of family and community life’ (Ibid. p.16).

The Western discourses of development have also become prevalent due to the sustained emphasis on global interconnectivity and discourses on the ‘global village’. Postcolonial theorists have argued that many of these discourses perpetuate colonial domination and tendencies (Bhabha, 1994; Crossman, 2004; Dirlik, 1994; Young 2003). Dei, a Ghanaian Professor of Sociology and Equity Studies at the University of Toronto has lamented how the developmental needs set in the Western framework continue to

confirm the inequalities between the West and especially African countries. He said that ‘sadly, many...Africans have also learned the language of development... and tell development workers” what they want to hear about our impoverishment to elicit more aid and assistance’ (2011: 5).

The perception of development in the Western framework has become so dominant that it is difficult for someone to think outside this framework. They continue to be the major framework in which decisions both at the national and individual levels are made.

Differences in responses among and in the universities

As indicated in the background chapter, the universities in the study were established for different purposes and have different mandates. There are also significant differences among them in terms of age, size and location. This section examines the extent to which they differ in their discourses on internationalisation, Africanisation /indigenous knowledge systems and developmental needs of the nation. I also look at responses among the different categories of respondents in particular universities.

Regarding the meaning of Internationalisation, the University of Mawuta appears to perceive internationalisation as the ability to attract and recruit students into the university. This could be seen from the response of the Vice Chancellor:

I have been in this office for just over one and a half years, and in this period, I have set as my broad objective to raise the University of [Mawuta] to a world-class status. What this means for us is that in addition to our Ghanaian students, we will attract more students from outside Ghana. We are anxious to attract students, not only from Africa, but also from Europe and America. We do have a fairly decent number of students that come from the USA, but a majority of them do come for short-term programmes only. Our medium-term objective is to ensure that

applicants from the USA enrol and graduate here (Vice Chancellor, University of Mawuta).

The Universities of Ojo and Ndebang appear to attach more the meaning of internationalisation to intercultural exchange.

All the universities attested to the importance of internationalisation. There are however, different nuances in how the universities think of internationalisation. In Mawuta, internationalisation is mainly seen as an ‘all good thing’ whereas in the other two universities, it is regarded as important but there are clear anxieties around it. The University’s position in terms of internationalisation fits into what Watson and Hay, in expressing concern about the emphasis of globalisation in the United Kingdom describe as ‘Logic of no alternative’. According to them, in the UK, globalisation has ‘increasingly come to be seen as a non-negotiable’ issue influencing political and economic abilities and choices. The state is so dependent on capitalism that there seems to be no way out. Their observations, I would say, might be applied to similar happenings in the University of Mawuta. To the University, internationalisation is ‘do or die affair’. As the Vice Chancellor of the University said:

Either you internationalise or you are left behind in the face of globalisation. If we at ...do not internationalise, we will not be existing.

With their emphasis on internationalisation, it is perhaps not surprising that at the University of Mawuta, Africanisation does not receive as much support and enthusiasm as does internationalisation.

This lack of enthusiasm is similar to the immediate postcolonial days when Nkrumah wished to emphasise the concept of Africanisation. University academics including those of University of Mawuta opposed this vision, thinking it would encourage lower academic achievement (Botwe-Asamoah 2005; Biney, 2011). This is connected with

analyses in the literature that the knowledges of marginalised groups tend to get reconstructed as a lowering of standards, thus maintaining the privileging of the knowledge of the privileged – in this case the knowledge of the West. Ironically, as indicated earlier, the University of Mawuta, upon its inception, was given the mandate to enhance confidence in African heritage systems and knowledge. This mandate was especially emphasised with the establishment of the Institute of African Studies (Nkrumah, 2012).

Though the majority of respondents at the universities of Ndebang and Ojo recognised the benefits of internationalisation, they were sceptical about it. Below, I give three extracts of how respondents at the Universities of Ojo and Ndebang perceive internationalisation and the reasons thereof.

It is important. It is important in the sense that everything we do is done within that framework. Every day, almost every day, there are people who come from Britain, America, all over; they want to seek collaboration with us. That is part of the international process. And every day we are being called upon to generate funds because that is what is done elsewhere. Every day we are being called upon to create what we call critical areas, as some areas of knowledge creation, are more critical than others and therefore to pump more money in there. Every day we are being asked to nominate people for awards in science and technology and not in the humanities for example, because that is what is regarded as valuable hmm (laughs) in the international arena. And really when we say international arena we are talking about the West basically (Dean, University of Ndebang)

I have a problem with internationalisation, globalisation. I have always seen it as a way of exploiting the poor, poor countries. We always talk about globalisation, whose globe is it? Ok, why is it global, why can't mine be presented as a global

issue but always ideas about the West (Academic of African Studies, University of Ndebang).

I don't necessarily disagree with internationalisation, I disagree with the way internationalisation has meant that we westernise our system. (Professor of African Studies, University of Ojo).

These expressions portray the skewed power relationship between the North and the South, and it shows the reasons why many of these respondents are sceptical about internationalisation. Respondents perceive the process of international relationship to be dominated and influenced by the West. The universities are influenced and directed by international bodies and institutions without the power and the will to resist. The perceptions particularly of the Professor at Ojo and the Dean who is also a professor are deemed very important because of their position and experience. The Dean has worked at the University for about 30 years and has held many positions at the University. The professor of Ojo has also worked for many years at the University of Ojo and has held many positions; he is also a prolific advocate of IKS.

As the Dean indicated, almost everything in the universities is perceived within a Western framework. Academics are being encouraged to publish mainly in international journals, which in many cases refer to journals in the North. They feel powerless, however, to challenge such unequal relations in any meaningful way.

These statements also confirm concerns of many writers about how the breakdown of international borders and assumed free flow of resources and ideas affect developing countries (Bhabha, 2009; Gacel-Avila, 2006; Unterhalter and Carpentier, 2010). Altbach and Knight (2007) for instance, have attested to the inequality posed by international mobility and strategies. According to them, since the North owns greater resources including infrastructure, information technology, human resource and even the knowledge,

they tend to control the process of international activities and relations. In effect, as they emphasise, ‘globalisation tends to concentrate wealth, knowledge, and power in those already possessing these elements (Ibid: 291).

Postcolonial theorists have attributed these inequalities to the lingering legacies of colonialism (Bhabha, 2009; Dirlik, 1994; Fanon, 2008; Rizvi, *et. al.* 2006). The only difference between contemporary happenings and colonialism, as attested by Bhabha (2009), is that such dominations do not rely on fixed boundaries, and are managed through ‘hybrid identities, flexible hierarchies, and plural exchanges through modulating networks of command’.

Gacel-Avila has distinguished between the globalisers and the globalised (2006: 121) which reminds one of the coloniser and the colonised. Similar to the psychological impact of colonisation as expressed by Fanon (2008), the inequalities of internationalisation also spurs various emotional feelings in the universities in developing countries including dejection, anger, frustrations and a sense of inferiority. An example of such emotional feelings could be perceived in the expression of the Academic of African Studies. Bhabha has indicated that a feeling of neglect as experienced by many former colonies can be a ‘deeply negating experience, oppressive and exclusionary, and it spurs you to resist the polarities of power and prejudice, to reach beyond and behind the invidious narratives of centre and periphery’ (2009: xi).

Whilst the majority of these respondents expressed their frustrations at internationalisation, they were equally attracted to internationalisation, and this is typified by the statement of the respondent at the University of Ojo. This attitude is positioned in Bhabha’s concept of ambivalence. The concept of ‘ambivalence’ portrays how colonial subjects are attracted to and at the same time repulsive of the ways of the colonial master.

An Academic at the Economics Department when asked to what extent internationalisation should be integrated into the curriculum said:

It is a dicey issue. We have to open up but to some extent, or we should close our doors for ten years (to solve our problems) and then open up...In a university, you don't train your students only for domestic purposes. (Economics Academic, University of Ojo)

This statement equally shows the uncertain position of many respondents who are uncomfortable with Western domination of the process of internationalisation. While aware of the negative effects of this dominance they could also not risk the advantages and benefits associated with relationship with the West. Once again the power relations are prevalent. As truly stated by an Academic in Economics, it will be difficult in the present era of sustained inter-national relations and many of the attractive benefits from the North, for a university in the South to isolate itself.

Bhabha's concept of ambivalence also explains how in such situations the colonial subject engages in activities to resist the colonial master. With this concept of ambivalence, Bhabha (1994) refuses to view colonial power in some absolute sense, always guaranteed to produce the intended effects on the colonial subjects'. Instead, it involves 'subversion, transgressions, insurgence and mimicry' (Ibid: 253). Fanon however, indicates that there is no need to quarrel over the constructions of colonialism. He says:

But once we have taken note of the situation, once we have understood it, we consider the job done. How can we possibly not hear that voice again tumbling down the steps of History: "It's no longer a question of knowing the world, but transforming it. The most important thing is to ask what could be done" (Fanon, 2008: 1).

According to Appiah and in support with Fanon, in a new relationship between the colonised and the coloniser, each must ‘move away from the inhuman voices of their respective ancestors so that a genuine communication can be born’ (2008: xii).

Said emphasises a humanistic approach to push for critical thought and analyses rather than ‘the short bursts of polemical, thought- stopping fury that so imprison us in labels and antagonistic debate whose goal is a belligerent collective identity rather than understanding and intellectual exchange’ (2003: xvii).

To mitigate some of the negative effects of internationalisation, and also be able to better address local needs, these universities have embarked on strategies to enhance Africa-related activities in their curriculum, and these are discussed in the next chapter. But as Rizvi, *et. al.* indicated, the effort of the colonial subject to resist is itself limited because the ‘mode of resistance is itself constrained by the language of the dominant group (2006: 254).

Spivak, in her famous paper, ‘can the Subaltern speak?’ explains how the ‘Subaltern’, the marginalised group, will resist dominations, will try to make the voices of those who are marginalised be heard but the dominant and powerful group will not listen. As Apple and Buras put it: ‘subaltern attempts at representation and the reception of those representations within existing circuits of power are two very different things’. (2006: 20) In the context of emphasising Africanisation or Indigenous Knowledge systems, attempts will be made but it will be difficult for them to have much success considering the various limitations including limited funding and the hegemony of the West. Subalternity entails that only certain types of speaking will be heard, and will be accepted in the hegemonic systems and knowledge, especially of the West. For example, though many have emphasised the cultural aspect of internationalisation, it will be difficult for universities to emphasise this because of current political and economic constraints influenced by global

politics and super power-ism, which emphasise for instance the English language and also neoliberal principles. The global powers and their influence at the local level make it difficult to have an alternative agenda to global dictates.

Regarding rationales of internationalisation, the University of Mawuta emphasised more of the economic aspects of internationalisation, especially student recruitment. In fact, it could be said that ‘internationalisation’ at Mawuta is synonymous with international student recruitment. This is perceived from the Vice Chancellor’s perception of internationalisation stated at the beginning of this chapter. None of the respondents at the University of Mawuta expressed the concern of Western dominance except a respondent from the Institute of African studies. He argued the need for cultural differences to be recognised and appreciated.

The Universities of Ojo and Ndebang emphasised more the intercultural rationales. The Director of International Studies at Ojo explained:

To a larger extent, they [University of Mawuta and another university not in the study] are looking at international students as a source of income. I don’t think we have the same view at the moment. It will come later but we don’t have many international students.

The emphasis at the University of Mawuta could be due to its comparative advantage over the other universities in terms of age, location, academic and student strength (see chapter 2). The Director of the international office of the University of Ojo for instance explained they are unable to attract fee-paying students because of the location of the University and conditions at the university. Such conditions include its long distance from the capital of Ghana, the limited infrastructure of the University and the harsh weather conditions of the place. As the Director indicated they are unable to attract the students because there is nothing ‘attractive for fee paying students’ to be there.

On the developmental needs, while respondents at the University of Mawuta were not critical of the influence of Western international organisations on the discourse on the developmental needs of countries, two respondents at the universities of Ndebang and Ojo were critical. A respondent who is a professor and a prolific advocate of African systems stated a definition of development not perceived in the framework of materialism and Westernisation. He said:

Developmental needs in one word is something like living well, it is not wellbeing or riches...it is something you think satisfies you. It encapsulates material, social, spiritual satisfaction etc.: a holistic satisfaction (Pro-Vice Chancellor and Professor at the University of Ojo).

He went on to explain how in his community they eat once a day but do not perceive themselves as poor because their eating habits are cultural and give them a sense of satisfaction. This definition of development is in line with the human centered approach of Sen (1999) who perceived development as freedom from all things that put constraint on the individual.

Whatever the misgivings, these discourses on development are reflected in the goals and strategies of all the universities in Ghana. Since the beginning of the century most of the universities in Ghana have embarked on strategic changes which have emphasised changing the curriculum to suit the developmental needs of the country.

Conclusion

This chapter discussed respondents' perceptions of and rationales for internationalisation, Africanisation, and developmental needs in Ghana. Rationales influencing these perceptions were also discussed. It was argued that these concepts are interrelated and not

mutually exclusive. The rationales and perceptions are equally interrelated and at times difficult to differentiate one from the other. In line with the wider literature, respondents had different perceptions and attached different rationales to the concepts. While there were not many differences in the responses of respondents, intra universities, there were some variations in responses among the three universities. While the university of Mawuta perceived internationalisation as ‘do or die affair’, respondents in the universities of Ojo and Ndebang were more sceptical about internationalisation. Again, while internationalisation at the University of Mawuta targeted international students and the income derived from it, the Universities of Ndebang and Ojo were more concerned with the exchange of ideas, resources and programmes among universities.

Despite the sceptical stance of some of the respondents towards internationalisation, all the universities have embraced it, and many policies and strategies in the universities are embarked upon in its framework. As the Pro-Vice Chancellor of the University of Ojo said, ‘We need both worlds to internationalise, the reality is that they co-exist. These two worlds are the Western scientific knowledge and African Indigenous Knowledge Systems. Botha in discussing the concepts of Africanisation and internationalisation and how these can co-exist has said that, “There is no university that could isolate itself from international influences, and, considering the nature of modern society, none is likely to want to be isolated” (2010: 203). And according to Leask ‘all graduates will work in a global setting, as engineers, accountants, doctors etc.’ (2009: 9). The next chapter looks at the strategies and policies that have been embarked upon by the universities in efforts to enhance their international and global relationships.

CHAPTER SIX

INTERNATIONALISATION STRATEGIES

Introduction

According to De Wit (2010) and Knight (2004) internationalisation strategies are adopted and adapted by particular institutions to suit the internal context of the universities. This chapter discusses the research questions on strategies that were adopted by the universities in their internationalisation process and the key players involved in their development and implementation. The key strategies that were identified are the development of mission statements and strategic plans; strategic collaborations; establishment of international offices; and benchmarking. I shall discuss each of these in turn.

As I discuss these strategies, I will draw out similarities and differences among the various departments and the universities. The order in which these strategies are discussed does not reflect the priorities the universities attach to them.

Development of mission statements and strategic plans

A major strategy to enhance internationalisation of the Universities is the development of new mission statements and strategic plans. In line with their strategic changes, all three universities have revised their mission statements. While the mission statement of the University of Ndebang, which was its first, was developed with its new strategic plan in 2001, the University of Mawuta developed a new mission statement in 2006. The University of Ojo also introduced a new mission statement in the 2011/2012 academic year. The main thrust of all these new mission statements of the universities is to develop the universities into ‘World Class’ institutions. This approach concurs with what some writers (for example, Altabach and Salmi, 2011; Mok and Cheung, 2011; Wang, *et. al.* 2013) have attested to. They indicated that many universities in the developing countries

are subscribing to the “World Class” university paradigm to be among the top positions of the university ranking systems. Such positioning by matching words with deeds will enhance their marketing strategies.

The University of Mawuta, for instance, has as its mission statement to:

Develop world-class human resources and capabilities to meet national development needs and global challenges through quality teaching, learning, research and knowledge dissemination (University’s website).

The University of Ojo ‘is envisaged to be a Home of World Class Pro-Poor Scholarship’ (University’s Website). The vision of the University is to maintain its mandate of addressing poverty and enhancing rural development whilst using its special community-university engagement programme as a flagship to position itself internationally. It was indicated that this university-community approach of addressing problems is unique in the African region, and they intend to maintain it that way. Some universities in the African region have been attracted to it and they send their students to participate in the programme. As the Director of International Programmes indicated:

It is the most interesting programme, the ability to expose people to the realities of the rural area and equip them with the skills to live in the community.

It also provided an alternative to city life, which according to the Director, international students enjoy very much. In its aspiration to be a world class University, it also aims to provide services with excellent facilities and resources.

Though the University of Ndebang does not capture the phrase ‘world class’ in its mission statement, it does so in its Vision statement¹⁵. It is to be ‘a university that is

¹⁵ A mission statement defines the present state or purpose of an organisation. It answers three questions about why an organisation exists - what it does; who it does it for; and how it does what it does. A vision statement defines the optimal desired future state - the mental picture - of what an organisation wants to achieve over time.

strongly positioned, with a worldwide acclaim'. In its mission statement, it positions itself as a 'University of Choice'. These choices of words emphasise the corporate direction and market-centric principles guiding actions and policies of the universities as emphasised in the literature review.

The mission statements of the universities, compared to various symbols that marked the inception of the universities including the crests and mottos, portray the gradual shift of the universities from emphasising knowledge for its own sake and to focus more on neoliberal ideologies and instrumental perceptions of knowledge. The underlying focus is, as has been explained earlier, the market and profit. This is similar to what is happening in universities worldwide.

The mission statements of many universities historically were a profession of faith in the value and the importance of knowledge and understanding of relationships between human beings and the world. In many cases they were based on religious faith. The crest of the mission of the University of Mawuta was developed out of indigenous African thought and value. The crest involves a symbol of three ferns (*Aya* in twi). The fern has a quality of always growing straight up in the forest. In traditional thought, it symbolizes straightness, truthfulness, integrity, endurance and being resourceful in order to meet the uncertainties of life. There is also a symbol of two interlocking ram horns which, in Twi, is called *Guanini mmen toa so* (The horns of a ram do not stop growing). The horns of a ram are believed not to stop growing and therefore depict progress. The meanings attached to these symbols were then translated into Latin- *intergri procedamus*- which means 'progressing with integrity'. It emphasises the need for students and staff in the university to have integrity, truthfulness, and resourcefulness.

The Coat of Arms of the University of Ndebang was equally developed from a traditional African thought. It consists of a shield with an ‘Adinkra¹⁶’ symbol signifying God's omnipotence. The upper half of the shield has a Golden Eagle with outstretched Wings, signifying strength, determination and excellence. The Motto is ‘*Veritas Nobis Lumen*’ which means ‘Truth, Our Guide’.

The University of Ojo as a relatively younger university does not have a crest but has a motto citing ‘knowledge for service’. The use of traditional symbols shows the importance the founding fathers of the universities attached to indigenous knowledge systems and the importance of knowledge in the character and social relationships. Presently, how the University projects itself externally is driven by marketing logics and the imperative to build a brand that will attract students. Education is perceived as a market place where people buy goods to suit their needs.

The University of Mawuta embarked on its first Strategic Plan in 1992, which was a six-year plan. The objective was to give a sense of direction to the University as it prepared to meet the various challenges of the 21st century. It was also to meet demands that the universities present strategic plans to organisations and donors they approached for funding. In this connection, a professor at the School of Agriculture stated:

Developing strategic plans had become a fashion. If you went out to the world to seek funding or seek collaboration, people would like to see what your strategic plan was (Academic, Professor of Agriculture, University of Mawuta)

During this period, many universities worldwide had started emphasising the centrality of the market and adopting plans to achieve their market related goals (Currie, *et. al.* 2002;

¹⁶ The Adinkra symbols are symbols used to portray the philosophies, culture and values of the Asante people of Ghana.

Harris 2007; Harris, 2011; Naidoo, 2010). A second strategic plan - a ten year strategic plan- was developed in Mawuta in 2000. This 2000-2010 plan was developed to situate the university better on its internationalisation and marketisation agenda.

Edu-Buandoh (2010) has emphasised the World Bank's role in influencing the public universities in Ghana to develop 'corporate' strategic plans, which were hitherto unknown in the plans of the universities. With these corporate strategic plans, the universities were set to adopt and implement business related plans, principles and procedures in achieving their goals. At a glance, the caption of the plan and the string of words are revealing. The plan is captioned 'corporate' strategic plan. Now the universities have 'operating environment', 'competitors', 'market', 'customers', 'clients' and 'products'. At the University of Mawuta, almost all the strategic thrusts are business centred. These thrusts include the University 'developing consumer driving programmes and privatizing non-core/non-performing activities and units' (University of Mawuta strategic plan).

It is during the same period that the University of Ndebang developed its Seven Year Strategic Plan. The Strategic plan of the University of Ndebang was equally to address institutional, national and international demands and expectations. The strategic changes at the University of Ojo, as a relatively newer and younger University, have occurred more gradually as it expands its faculties, departments and programmes over the years. The Dean of the Arts faculty in expressing his misgivings about the business nature of the strategic plans said:

We are masquerading as something we are not. We are not a corporate world. Of course we can borrow some but I don't think that we should have a wholesale of universities as corporate bodies. Sometimes it even sounds ridiculous and trivial that suddenly something that used to be called personnel office is now called

personnel office of the human resource something, I mean all of it looks like painting an old house and pretending that it is new because if the processes don't change then really, changing of the names and so on won't amount to much. So I don't personally agree that that is the way we should go. I think that we could remain a university and yet you know, borrow what we have to from other sections.

This period of changes also coincided with the directive of the Government of Ghana for national institutions including the universities to embark on programmes to generate wealth internally.

On the assumption of the New Patriotic Party (NPP) Government in 2001, President Kuffour¹⁷, as part of his Presidential Special Initiatives, declared a year of 'the Golden Age of Business' (Asante, 2012: 9). This was to encourage wealth creation in almost all organisations and institutions including higher education institutions. It was also part of the NPP government's agenda, 'to move Ghana's economy beyond Highly Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) status and reduce the country's over-dependence on aid and donor support and a few commodity exports by finding new pillars of growth' (Ibid). With the declaration, the concept of the superiority of the market was embraced by many organisations, including the universities. This declaration also coincided with winds of change blowing across many universities in Africa which sought to embark on various strategies to address local challenges and assert themselves internationally.

A major goal of the Universities presently, is to 'sell' themselves to 'stakeholders', 'customers' and 'clients'. These include the various Government ministries, industries, alumni, parents and students. In the context of revising their curriculum, some departments have changed their names to reflect what they are currently doing. The academic director

¹⁷ He was actually being described as a capitalist by a columnist in the Daily Graphic, Ghana's leading newspaper in September, 2013.

in explaining the changes in names of departments at the University of Mawuta indicated, 'once you mention this department then you know this is what they are about'. Thus, the Department of 'Home Science' for instance, has changed its name to 'Family and Consumer Sciences' and the Department of Zoology to Animal Biology. None of the departments involved in my study has changed its name. The change of names is a major aspect of the efforts of the University to make itself known. There are times it is believed, however, that universities and departments change their names, not as a result of a change in what they do. It is not to represent something they are actually doing, but in order to have a politically correct name for marketing purposes.

The mission statements and strategic plans, apart from setting a framework for the universities, are equally a way of advertising the institutions. At the University of Mawuta, adverts targeting international students have been taken beyond the borders of Ghana and are done explicitly through the media in neighbouring countries. There has also been intensive usage of emails and fax to market and provide intensive information about the University. There is also intensive usage of the social media, including facebook to attract students. Staff of the International Programmes Office have also presented papers on international activities of the University. A document on the implementation update of strategic plan of the University of Mawuta indicates that the number of foreign students has increased considerably since the development of the University's Strategic Plan. Since 2000, the number of foreign students has risen almost 150%.

All the universities have adopted fee-paying programmes, and increase of student user and tuition fees and of course emphasis of international student recruitment. With the approval of the government in 2002, the universities give 5% admission slot for international students and 5% for local fee paying students. The fee-paying programme is for local students who qualify to gain admission to the University, but who otherwise, will

not have had admission because of limited facilities. These students pay fees similar to international students.

As part of the marketing strategies, the University of Mawuta organised a programme dubbed 'Education and home coming fair' in 2011. Through this fair, the University sought to showcase itself to people both locally and externally. It also targeted the alumni and stakeholders, including the Government ministries and industries. It was hoped that such programmes would generate more confidence in the University and through that attract international students. The University of Ndebang is also engaged in open days where the various departments showcase their activities to the public, which also serves to advertise for local and international students and attract local and international collaborations.

Naidoo has argued that these developments and changes worldwide:

Are based on the assumption that the contemporary higher education system has become too large and complex for the state to sustain its position as sole regulator and funder, that market competition within and between universities will create more efficient and effective institutions (2010: 250).

In the Ghanaian universities, with the exception of personal emoluments, monies for administration and services keep dwindling. In line with the literature, the main challenge acknowledged by all respondents in the research universities, is limited funding. The challenge of funding is discussed in detail in chapter eight. With the conditions in Ghana, it is difficult for the universities to think of other ways. To borrow Harris words, 'it is difficult to think outside of its black box' (2007, p. 4). It has become the common sense of dealing with situations.

Strategic Collaborations

A major strategy of the universities in their internationalisation effort is to develop collaborations with universities both within and outside the West African sub-region. With these collaborations, there are differences among the universities in relation to the level of interest and the number of collaborations. The University of Mawuta is leading with over 400 Memorandum of Understandings (MOUs) with various universities. As the Vice Chancellor of the University indicated, 'All [their] days are used in signing MOUs'.

The University of Ndebang has, according to its website, about 35 MOUs with other universities while the University of Ojo has a fewer number. These agreements are at the departmental and institutional levels and are centred on areas of mutual interest. The interests include staff and student exchange programmes, joint graduate programmes, research collaborations and joint conferences and seminars. At the University of Mawuta, most of the collaborations are with institutions in the United States of America (USA), followed by institutions in Europe, Canada, Asia and Africa in that order. The universities of Ndebang and Ojo also have collaborations with institutions in USA, Europe and Asian countries.

The few number of collaborations with African countries is interesting since the mission of the Association of African Universities (AAU) emphasises the need of the universities to collaborate with universities at the African regional level. Writers, for example Crossman (2004), have emphasised the importance of South-South collaborations. Such collaborations according to him will foster more understanding between the institutions and enhance their ability to mutually address local problems. Many of the problems and needs confronting the institutions and the country are common to them. Again, according to Crossman (2004), it would help to reduce Western hegemony in the international domain.

The international collaborations give the universities a sense of pride and prestige. And this could be one of the major reasons they continue to emphasise Western collaborations. The Dean of the College of Agriculture at the University of Mawuta said:

Yes, we take pride in the number of collaborations that we have with other universities; we take pride in the number of foreign universities; we take pride in the kind of internationalised research programmes that we have. An example is the West Africa Centre for Crop Improvement (WACCI), which is just across here. We have collaborators from ... University and the programme or the centre looks at training our own PhD plant breeders and plant breeders at the PhD level for some countries in the sub-region. This is a typical example of research that I look at as internationalised. We have students from Mali, Cameroon, Niger... all at the Centre (Dean of the Faculty of Agriculture, University of Mawuta).

It is believed, not only by universities in Ghana, but worldwide that the more international collaborations and international students a university has, the higher its quality and reputation (De Wit, 2011; Knight 2011). Knight (2011) and De Wit (2011) have argued against this perception as a myth and a misconception. I support their argument that the development of international collaborations and the presence of international students do not necessarily enhance the quality and reputation of a university. Some universities may engage in collaborations and recruit international students mainly for economic purposes. For instance, a university may engage in a lot of marketing strategies to attract international students, but may do little to students' international and educational experiences.

As indicated in the rationales stated by respondents in chapter five, collaborations are thought to enhance intercultural learning and diversity, and enrich classroom learning. They are also thought to promote networking and enhance exposure. All these could be

immensely beneficial to the universities. As students and staff are exposed to what is happening in other universities through collaborations, they are able to identify and potentially address their institutional shortcomings (Larson, *et. al.*, 2005). In the universities of Ghana, a number of PhDs are being trained through collaborations and sponsorship from international bodies. The collaborations are also enhancing research and publications on the continent as local academics team up with their foreign counterparts to undertake research on specific topics.

The 2011 Policy Report on Internationalisation of Universities in the United Kingdom (the 1994 Group) has indicated that collaboration with international educational institutions constitute an exciting means for universities to internationalise. In spite of the fact that collaborations are supposed to benefit both universities and be on mutual grounds, the collaborations are beset with a lot of challenges. For example, Larsson *et. al.* (2005) in a study of collaboration between four continents in different countries have acknowledged that there are challenges of constructing a fair collaboration among universities across continents.

While the University of Mawuta did not say anything regarding the challenges of these collaborations, the two other universities talked about these problems. The challenges include a seemingly unequal relationship between the North and the South divide, differences in expectations, and at times, what is perceived as exploitation of the universities by some universities in the North. A Dean of the School of Agriculture who is a professor had this to say about these challenges:

It is becoming quite interesting. Sometimes, the North-South collaborations had ended up being...with all due apologies, a master...er er, it's not been on equal footing...I think there has been inequalities ... and sometimes the emphasis is also on the fact that we here are not vocal or savvy enough to fight for a good something

when we are collaborating (Professor, Dean, School of Agriculture, University of Ndebang)

This statement shows the perceived inequalities and power relations occurring in collaborative ventures between institutions and individuals in the North and the South. This respondent cited an example where they were used as collaborators with an institution in the UK. The collaborative partners in the UK received the funding and undertook the project in the UK. At the end, the collaborative partners felt they did not gain anything from the project. Another respondent who is a professor at the University of Ojo cited an incident where they did a joint research with some researchers from the West, but in the end, the Ghanaian collaborators were not cited as contributors to the research. These unequal relations, I would argue, occur because mostly, the universities in Ghana, due to their funding challenges are at the receiving end of the collaboration, becoming beneficiaries of scholarships, funding for research and other grants. Since the collaborative partners have more resources, they are able to influence and control the collaborations.

These respondents indicated that such challenges are forcing African universities to put much emphasis on South-South collaborations. But not all respondents perceive collaborations in this light. A professor and a director of Quality Assurance Unit at the University of Ndebang had this to say:

And me I don't see any negative aspect of it. So people who say this give room for exploitation. I don't understand it at all, I don't understand it. If you are linking up with another university you sit down and prepare the MOU; if you are not satisfied with it you don't agree to it but once you have prepared an MOU with your own signature, where is the exploitation? Why will you allow yourself to be exploited (laughs). So internationalisation, me I don't see any negative aspect, it's all positive.

While some respondents felt they were pressured to accept the terms and conditions of collaborations, others did not, nor did they feel pressurised to accept Western initiatives. While respondents may not be pressurised, they may enter into certain collaborations expecting some benefits, financial or as contributing partners of research. However, as explained above, they do not often derive such anticipated benefits which at times make them feel exploited.

In some cases, research activities that emerge from such collaborations are not commensurate with the needs and goals of the local institutions and the nation (Sawyer, 2004). Naidoo (2007) has argued in expressing her concern about the commodification of knowledge, that North-South collaborations should be treated with caution. She argues that though universities in the South may have certain opportunities through these collaborations, they may also be vulnerable to exploitation by some institutions in the North due to various weaknesses of their higher educational systems coupled with their many challenges. Naidoo's argument is applicable to the Ghanaian context as reflected in the examples cited above. She calls for research to enhance genuine collaborations which will result in genuine capacity building.

Establishment of international centres

To enhance their collaborations, marketing and international student recruitment, all the universities have established Centres for international programmes. The need for such international centres can be found in their institutional statutes. To emphasise the importance attached to internationalisation, all Centres are directed by Professors, and assisted by Assistant registrars and other supporting staff. With the exception of the University of Ojo, which is in the early stage of infrastructural development and therefore has limited space, the Centres of International programmes of the other two universities are in completely detached buildings. The Centre at the University of Mawuta particularly, is

housed in an imposing edifice, with beautiful decorations and artefacts¹⁸. The Centres also have their mission and vision statements. The main thrusts of all the missions and visions are to help project the universities as centres of excellence and enhance exchange of resources and knowledge.

The Centres coordinate many of the international programmes, activities and relations with other universities. In addition to handling international collaborations and other international affairs, they run student and staff exchange programmes. All centre activities require the approval of the university's Vice Chancellor.

In line with calls for more research into internationalisation, De wit, as indicated by MacGregor (2012), has called for internationalisation of higher education to be taken out of international offices and "brought back to where it belongs – in academia". He argues that since "research is not part of administration, internationalisation is not part of administration. He believes not perceiving internationalisation as part of administration will enhance research into internationalisation. In arguing further, I will say, it is important to have research into how internationalisation will not perpetuate the hegemony of Western ideologies and how indigenous knowledge systems could be enhanced.

To enhance their collaboration and marketisation endeavours and other aspects of internationalisation, a major strategy is benchmarking of 'big universities' abroad. According to Fourcode and Healy (2007), emphasising the market discourages personal style, suppresses creativity and eliminates diversity, thus sanctioning the status quo. These are reflected in the benchmarking strategies of the universities to which I now turn my attention.

Benchmarking

Altbach and Salmi (2011) define benchmarking as the process of comparing one's business

¹⁸ The Centre was sponsored with income generated through fees from international students. Part of the building was also sponsored by the United Nation's University which uses the upper floors of the building.

processes and performance metrics to industry bests and/or best practice from other industries to improve one's performance. They have indicated that a major challenge of universities in the less developed world is 'how to participate effectively in the global knowledge network'. According to them, to be able to participate effectively and attain the world-class status the university aims to achieve, the universities benchmark most of their policies, strategies and practices to leading universities abroad. In the case of Mawuta University, its Vice Chancellor believes that, 'if Harvard is coming, then we have to be like Harvard'. The above quote could be described as a cliché of the Vice Chancellor of the University of Mawuta and it signifies the University's aspirations to benchmark leading universities. The benchmarking of the universities is pursued in two main ways: the use of foreign experts and benchmarking the curriculum of universities abroad.

Foreign experts

The use of foreign experts is peculiar to all the three universities. It has particularly been emphasised at the University of Mawuta. When this University decided to assess itself and embark on strategic planning in the year 2000, two consultants were brought from Western countries to give expert advice.

The University also had to rely on what was called a 16 member 'Visitation team'¹⁹ to advise the University on its efforts to satisfy local and external demands. This was the first time a university in Ghana was using a visitation team to effect changes in the university. The research of the team started in April 2007. The terms of reference of the team included examining the curriculum of the University to determine its 'currency,

¹⁹ The use of the term 'Visitation' is an interesting one. It is a biblical theme connoting the powerful presence of God with human beings. In the Bible, there were many instances where there was a visitation from God to men, for example, when Mary, the would-be mother of Jesus, was visited by an angel. There were other visitations involving Abraham, Moses and Gideon. In all these visits there were important messages to be delivered by which those visited upon had to abide. The messages delivered were seen as absolutes and essential. Thus, the Visitation team could be seen in terms of a powerful presence where the local academics and administrators have to abide by their reports and recommendations.

quality and relevance' in relation to world-class universities, investigating and advising on infrastructural needs, as well as advising on its governance and structure. Members of the Visitation team for instance, had to make two one-week visits (April 30 -May 4 and August 27-31). Much of the information had to be provided by local academics.

Most of the present changes in the University are based on the report and recommendations of the Visitation team. The team recommended, for instance, changes and improvement in infrastructure, financial management and the curriculum. Upon the recommendations of the Visitation team to effect changes to the curriculum, a Western expert was brought in to look at curriculum development of the University.

At the University of Ndebang, it was indicated that Western experts were brought in to examine the curriculum and examinations of the institution to determine whether they are compatible with international standards, which could also mean, Western standards. The dependence on Western intellectuals and experts is not limited to the institutions but is manifested at the national levels. Mkandawire in discussing African intellectuals and involvement described national political leaders as having their 'ears finely tuned to the voices of foreign experts and deaf to local voices' (2005: 2)

Many postcolonial writers have attributed such dependence on foreign experts to the psychological dependency of the colonised even so many years after independence. Many ex-colonies continue to reflect what Fanon describes as having 'a black skin, with a white mask' (2008: ix). Such continual dependence has also got to do with global powers and inequalities. Many postcolonial theorists (for example, Bhabha, 2004; Hardt and Negri 2000; Rizvi, *et. al.*, 2006) have argued that the contemporary global order has produced new forms of sovereignty, which are rooted in colonialism but which adopt new names and structures. Discourses and practices including globalisation and neoliberal ideas are all rooted in colonialism and they continue to promote the dominance of the West. According

to Hardt and Negri (2000) the only difference between present and past forms of imperialism is about structures. He said that European empires do not rely on fixed boundaries, and are managed through 'hybrid identities, flexible hierarchies, and plural exchanges through modulating networks of command' (Ibid: xi).

According to Fanon (2004) 'during the period of colonization the colonized were called upon to be reasonable. They were offered rock solid values... that decolonization should not mean regression, and that they must rely on values, which have proved to be realistic and worthwhile' (Ibid: 8). Fanon continues that, 'in the colonial context, the colonist only quits undermining the colonised once the latter have proclaimed loud and clear that white values reign supreme' (Ibid: 9). Similarly presently, many of the institutions in the ex-colonial countries are urged to adopt well-tested and standardised strategies which are believed will surely enhance the development of the universities to be like their counterparts in 'developed' countries.

With the usage of foreign experts, what is wondered, however, is how an expert, most cases can come and spend some few days in unknown territory and make recommendations which it is believed will work effectively. Brock-Utne, a European Professor with extensive research, academic and consultancy experiences in both African higher and basic educational systems has expressed her concerns consistently about the emphasis on foreign experts in African educational systems. In writing of her fifteen years experience in Africa, she cited a Tanzanian saying to buttress her point. The proverb, *'Mtaalam ni mtu ambaye anakuja nyumbani kwako na kukuazima saa yako na kukuambia ni saa ngapi'* means 'an expert is someone who comes to your house, borrows your watch and then tells you what time it is'.

According to her, the proverb:

Shows well the uselessness of an expert coming from the outside. The expert has to get the most important knowledge from the local people, and normally s/he is of little help...s/he knows less about the local circumstances and is often not able to communicate with the local people...In reality many of us from so-called developed countries have more to learn from Africans than they have from us. The fact that we are "experts" in our own countries, for instance, in competitive sports of a Western kind, women's law in Norway, AIDS prevention in the North, or commercial forestry or fishery in the North Sea, does not make us experts. In the use of the body in Africa, women's law in Africa, the spreading of AIDS in Africa, sexual norms among various African groups, African agro-forestry, or tropical multi-species fishery in shallow waters (Brock-Utne, 2002: 71).

Torres (2002) has equally expressed concern about technical assistance and expert knowledge provided by international organisations including the World Bank to local communities in developing worlds. The challenges as identified by Torres are to consider questions anthropologists often ask themselves, including: 'how can an external source of knowledge understand internal sources of knowledge'. But on the other hand, as Brock-Utne (2002) confirms, the funds for most educational projects come from donors and the donors come with their foreign experts.

The use of foreign experts also, I would argue, reinforces the assumed inferiority of the African. As Brock-Utne says (2002), foreign experts are given better cars, stay in more comfortable accommodation and receive higher salaries than their local counterparts. These locals, I would argue, cannot help but to feel inferior just as the foreign expert, may not be able to help, but to feel superior.

Labakeng *et.al.* (2006) have described a major characteristic of African Scholarship as involving a 'captive mind' or mental captivity (73). The captive mind according to him, uncritically, accepts and adopts concepts and ideas from the West, have problems with creativity and raising original problems and utilising indigenous resources. Contrary to this I would say that many academics and administrators in Ghanaian universities cannot be said to be uncritical, however, political and economic constraints including limited funding make it difficult for them to challenge the status quo. The need for benchmarking, I argue, also generates tensions between almost everything that is perceived as local and what is perceived as international. For instance, in Ghana, internationally trained PhDs are perceived as better trained than the locally trained. Publishing in an international journal is more highly recommended than the local ones, foreign expertise cherished more than the local and Western knowledge more than the indigenous. Fanon's observation describes such tensions. He observed that 'as painful as it is for us to have to say this: there is but one destiny for the black man. And it is to be White' (2008: xiv).

Though respondents hardly expressed negative sentiments on the use of these foreign experts, a few statements from three out of the four professors interviewed at the University of Mawuta suggested there are tensions between academics and administrators. A professor at the Institute of African Studies in his response to the change in the Institute, said:

Well let's say the changes to some extent were imposed on us. The university got someone to come and value our programmes and so on and so forth. It was out of the visitation report that we moved in this direction...I understand they came here and talked to people. The university asked them to come and look at the courses and advise us, you know these days we are all trying to become a world class university.

Another professor who is the Dean of Agriculture also said:

And I think most of the suggestions that they made are things that we know must be done. You know, we know them already but unfortunately we hadn't been able to implement them. For what reason I don't know. For what reason I don't know.

A professor and a former administrator of the quality assurance unit retorted when I asked him about what a 'World Class' university is. He said, 'Ask the Vice Chancellor, he will be able to tell you what he means by a world class university'.

These three statements indicate the subtle discomfort of these respondents with importing foreign experts to guide the University in its plans. The first shows a level of disinterest in what actually happened and is happening. The second statement shows how unnecessary some of the respondents thought the visit was. They believe the recommendations were things they should have already implemented. In fact reading through the strategic plan which was developed in 2006, I realised that many of the recommended issues were already stated or reflected in the strategic plan. Many of the respondents at the University were however quick to say that they were involved in the exercise of the visitation team. In a way, respondents were eager to suggest they were involved though Western experts were imported. Others also tried to emphasise the fact that the people who were brought were *experts*, however, the tone and demeanour of some of these respondents, in talking about these experts showed certain indifference and lack of enthusiasm.

My interview with students emphasised how the idea of Western superiority is ingrained in their minds. I asked whether they wished to work in Ghana or abroad. They unanimously bursted out laughing, in what appears to be a 'silly' or 'obvious' question. All of them of course wished to stay abroad, at least to get the money and 'right' knowledge and come back to settle in Ghana. I asked those who wanted to travel outside Ghana

whether they wished to go to another African country and they all bursted into laughter.

One said what appears to reflect what the others were thinking:

Ok if you want to make it, why look at second best when you have opportunities for the best? We are all developing countries, so why don't you [look up] to those whose ideas and process have been tested and tried.

If students from institutions of higher learning, in their final years, think of their country or continent as 'second best' and external societies as 'those whose ideas and process have been tested and tried', this raises significant concerns. As Fanon (2008) argues, the colonised, in many cases, has internalised the coloniser's views of his or her inferiority. Such inferiority is internalised in the institutions and the students, and through this the dominance of the West gets perpetuated as the way forward.

Benchmarking the curriculum

Young (2002) has argued that 'curriculum knowledge is socially and historically produced and changeable...' (p. 5). He also argues that curriculum is politically influenced and in addition to satisfying the hidden interests of especially those in authority, it underlines what a society wishes to achieve. Internationally, some of the wider literature suggests that many universities are effecting curricula reformations to meet the needs and demands of globalisation, internationalisation and neoliberal ideologies (Burke, 2012; Jones, 2013; Rizvi, 2007; Torres, 2009a). The universities in Ghana equally strive to set a standardised curriculum to attract international students.

Beyond consulting Western experts, many respondents in all the three universities indicated that in designing the curriculum, they refer to the curricula of 'big' universities in the North to guide them. They also consult the curricula of sister universities in the country. An academic who is a professor of Agriculture at the University of Mawuta and

who has had many years of teaching in the University explained why they refer to the curriculum of universities abroad. He said:

This means that you are talking about world class. It also means that now we look at what other people are doing and of course the internet is available now. So instead of collecting many programmes, policies, regulations of many universities, these days all of them can be found on the internet. And of course you should now look at what is happening elsewhere. You should also know that there is now ranking of universities worldwide. So if you go to the net and look at highly ranked universities, you examine their programmes and ask, is there anything that they are doing that we are not doing? So these are some of the things that help to enrich your own curriculum (Academic, Professor of Agriculture, University of Mawuta).

A Head of Department of Economics at the University of Ndebang also had this to say when he explained how they are trying to establish a Centre of Excellence and how this impacts on the curriculum:

Yes, when I say we are trying to develop a Centre of Excellence in Economic Modelling, it is to lift everything theoretical from... [UK] and put it here, get their experts to come and teach us but when we are going to do research there, it will be based on Ghana. So all the expertise and curriculum will come from there, and we will train the people so that they can work like they were in the UK but now on a Ghanaian programme. It is like borrowing so much from there to be able to use here to think about the Ghanaian situation (HoD, Economics, University of Ndebang).

Whilst the statement above of the Professor at the University of Mawuta appears quite understandable, certain questions could be asked. How do the universities hope to compete

with those they are copying? How do they hope to outperform the universities when they are copying their curriculum?

The statement from the Head of the Economics Department at the University of Ndebang, I would argue, is even more contentious. The assumption underlying the statement is that the surest means through which the Department could become a Centre of Excellence is to take everything from ... to Ghana, including their experts. Why does the Department have to borrow 'so much from there' (the West) before they (Ghanaian academics) will be able 'to think about the Ghanaian situation'? With colonisation, Mudimbe (1988) cites P. Bigo (1974:23) who indicates that not only do the 'dominant countries' impose their lifestyles and modes of thinking on the 'dominated nation', 'they are accepted, even sought after' by those perceived to be dominated. Though efforts to develop the University of Mawuta are laudable, and universities are supposed to provide universal education, one cannot help but also ask questions.

Can the University of Mawuta really be like Harvard and is it actually necessary to be like Harvard? Is it that African universities in general cannot initiate anything on their own, that could also penetrate the international market other than always copying? Or is the University merely using politically correct words to enhance its competitive edge? It will be stating the very obvious to say that a Ghanaian University, will find it difficult to be like Harvard in terms of infrastructure, concentration of Professors, recruitment of international students, just to mention a few. There is a saying that 'if you aim at the sky, you will not miss the tree top'. It could then, be reasonable to say that if the University does not attain Harvard's 'standards', they could reach somewhere desirable. But it is equally important to emphasise the implications.

The Head of Economics Department, similar to many of the respondents, was quick to add that the curriculum/models/theories are adapted to suit the Ghanaian society or the

goals of the University. But a Dean who is a professor expressed concern about the ‘unbridled’ acceptance of everything from the West. He said, ‘well I even doubt if the adaptation is seriously carried out and that is our problem’. When I asked why he thinks the adaptation is not properly done, he said:

Well, we don’t give ourselves time, and our financiers in the West, they are a bit impatient. They are a bit... (laughs). They are moving too quickly, that is the whole point’.

According to the Dean, in many cases people do not have the time to think through to make things contextual to the economy or country. But since the problems and needs in the Ghanaian societies differ from the West, I would argue the need for the necessary time to develop the understanding and knowledge that will suit the country.

Responses typified by those of the Head of the Economics Department of Ndebang argued the necessity to combine the curricula from universities in different countries. He said:

We are not just copying something globally, what we have is a mix of British and American systems. Sometimes you think something is good here and something is good there. So you pick the good things together and you get a hybrid. We are not worried about whether it is American or British. Whatever we do must be acceptable in the US and the UK. We have a lot of collaborations with universities in the UK and the US.

Some respondents pointed out that in curriculum development, there is less need to ‘reinvent the wheel’ as the ‘wheel has already been invented and is turning’. By this they meant that the core knowledge of the various subjects has already been created (by the

West). Thus, it is assumed that there is no need for the universities in the South to re-create knowledge within the local, national or regional contexts in which the institution is situated. Rather, it is viewed simply as a matter of adapting the wheel to suit local conditions. But I would agree with Brock-Utne (2002) that Western knowledge and expertise may not necessarily suit the Ghanaian society. Since it is exclusive of the values and perspectives rooted in Ghanaian history, culture and society, it would be difficult to address local problems. The limited emphasis of local knowledge will also continue to weaken the efforts of the university internationally.

It is a fact that the development of curriculum in the Ghanaian universities cannot be an isolated case. I will argue for the importance of ‘reinventing the wheel’ to suit the Ghanaian context. Beside it, such knowledge though based on the Ghanaian context could also add to global knowledge. With the historical influence of colonialism, amidst economic and many other national challenges, making such reinventions will not be easy but as argued by postcolonial theorists including Young (2003), there is the need to ‘shift the dominant ways in which the relationships between Western and non-western people and their worlds are viewed’. And this ‘means turning the world upside down’ (Ibid: 2). There is the need to accept that ‘Baghdad or Benin’ is different from ‘Berlin or Boston’ and for that matter, Ghana is different from Western societies (Ibid).

The benchmarking is not left to the universities alone. The supervisory bodies of higher education in Ghana also appear to endorse it. An administrator at one of the supervisory bodies in Ghana for instance retorted when asked about Africanisation. He said:

The more your education in Ghana could be compared to education abroad the more the university becomes acceptable. It is universal. Anybody can come from anywhere and do the programme. There is nothing like black medicines. All

medicines are medicines. A Toyota in Japan is a Toyota here. Or yes, so what is Africanisation?

Two years after making this statement, this administrator repeated the same things when I met him again, and this time, also stressed the need for the universities 'to be like Harvard'.

Conclusion

A major concern of all the universities in the study is not only to position themselves internationally, but for them to be recognised as 'world class' institutions. To achieve these goals, the institutions have embarked on various strategies including collaborations with institutions both in the African region and overseas, marketing strategies and recruitment of international students, establishment of international offices and benchmarking of universities, particularly in the West. The global influences of capitalism pervade many of the strategies of the universities. The strategies are also influenced by legacies of colonialism, including the perception of Western superiority.

Though the strategies adopted are similar in all the universities, the rate of involvement differs among the institutions. It could be argued that various factors including location, size, age and infrastructural strength, influence particular perceptions and rationales each of the institutions attaches to internationalisation. These factors equally influence their internationalisation strategies. With the three universities, the biggest and oldest with comparative advantages in terms of location and strength of staff, among other advantages, is more concerned with international student recruitment and the income generated. The others, with less infrastructural advantages are more concerned with the intercultural learning.

It is important as the universities embark on these strategies to avoid uncritical acceptance of everything Western and to strive to create their own strength and strategies. The strategies have manifested themselves in actual changes in the curriculum. The next chapter looks at the impact of internationalisation on the curriculum.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CURRICULUM-RELATED CHANGES

Introduction

This chapter answers the research question on how internationalisation has impacted on the curriculum and the key actors involved. It examines the curriculum development process and actual changes that have occurred in the programmes pursued in the universities.

The chapter is in four sections. The first examines the process of curriculum development, the second discusses the changes in programmes and subjects, the third considers quality related strategies, and the fourth, which is the final section, looks at the power relations as they flow from the international circles to the institutions. Though the theme of the wave of power relations runs through the entire chapter, this last section will make more explicit the key players of the strategies adopted and the power relations involved.

Curriculum processes and changes

According to respondents, curriculum development could be initiated at the individual, departmental, or institutional levels. At the individual level, a lecturer can recommend changes to the curriculum or propose a curriculum for a new programme or course. S/he submits the recommendation or proposal for the department to deliberate on it. The department, as a unit, can also set up a committee of experts in a particular subject to write a proposal for a new curriculum or changes to an existing curriculum. The proposals are submitted to the Departmental Board for approval. When the Board approves a proposal, it is submitted to the Faculty Board which is made up of Heads of Departments and Departmental representatives with the Dean as the Chairman. If the proposal is approved at

this level, it proceeds to the Academic Board, which gives the final university approval. The proposal is then sent to the National Accreditation Board (NAB) for approval.

In developing a curriculum, a Department may also consult stakeholders outside the university. In all three universities, Departments and Schools of Agriculture consulted stakeholders including the Ministry of Agriculture and the private sector. Various organisations may also make requests to the universities to develop and offer customised programmes. For instance at the University of Ndebang, the Ministry of Health requested Diploma and Degree programmes to train nurses teaching in the Nurses Training Colleges. Also at the same university, the Ministry of Transport requested a Diploma in Transport course while the Institute of Chartered Accountants of Ghana requested for a degree programme to be organised for Accountants.

At the institutional level, from time to time, the university will charge the various departments to renew their curricula in line with the University's aims and goals. For instance, respondents at the University of Ndebang, indicated that during the preparation of their seven year strategic plan (2001-2008) all departments were asked to review their curricula and this led to the University coming up with a number of programmes, including the establishment of a Department of Medical Sciences and a Faculty of Law. Though there is a semblance of democracy, the influence of politics and power were evident, a point to which I shall return in the last section of this chapter.

The respondents indicated that the universities are also mandated by the National Accreditation Board to renew their respective curricular every five years. At the time of gathering the data, many of the universities were in the process of renewing theirs. Though no respondent from the University of Mawuta complained about the National Accreditation Board, some respondents in the other universities expressed their concern about its operations. One Head of department actually described the Board as an institution which creates obstacles when one develops programmes they do not understand.

Programme-related strategies

The interviews and documentary analyses indicate that changes to the curriculum could be perceived at the institutional, school/college and departmental/faculty levels. Though there are some similarities, many of the changes that have occurred vary among the universities. Again, though all the universities aim to be internationally recognised, respondents in all the universities indicated that there has been little impact of internationalisation on their respective curriculum. This view seems to contradict what the Vice Chancellor of the University of Mawuta said about the impact of internationalisation on the curriculum.

It puts pressure on you to show your best because when foreign students go, they will talk about what you do here. So you ensure that there is a curriculum that is appealing to both your national students as well as international students.

His statement portrays the curriculum as an integral aspect of internationalisation, which every effort must be made to develop to suit the national and the international needs. It is significant to say, however, that in the context of the legacy of colonisation, much of the curriculum already satisfies external needs. In all the universities, since their inception, the curriculum, textbooks and methods of teaching have mostly been Western. It is therefore not surprising that the majority of respondents indicated that little change has occurred in the curriculum in relation to internationalisation. One professor when I asked about the impact on the curriculum retorted:

What about the curriculum? Curriculum is already international. What we should talk about is how we can bring in our own. Curriculum in Ghana is the same as what we learn in the UK (Dean of Social Science, University of Ndebang).

An Academic at the University of Ojo also said in response to the same question:

But our traditional school is foreign, it is already international, it has always been international...so I don't know what is new other than to reapply it (An Academic/ Head of TTFP, University of Ojo).

In other words, what is taught in Ghanaian universities is more or less what is taught abroad. Presently, many of the new international programmes that have been introduced are at the postgraduate level.

Though respondents indicated that internationalisation has impacted little on the curriculum, certain changes pertaining to programmes, academics, infrastructure and methods of teaching have been introduced recently. These changes occur at the institutional and departmental levels and vary from institution to institution and from department to department. The changes have also occurred in the various universities at different times and varying rates.

A major change at the institutional level of all the universities is the diversification of their programmes. Responses from the interviews and documentary analyses indicate that diversification is to give students wider choices of programmes so as to turn out graduates who meet the increasingly diverse human resource needs nationally and internationally. At the University of Ndebang for instance, the University has diversified from purely education programmes to pursue programmes in Law, Medicine and various science related subjects (University of Ndebang website). The University of Mawuta has also diversified to include a College of Education, which is a significant decision. The introduction of this College, is part of the decentralisation process of the University of Mawuta to enhance efficiency and make the university administration more effective. In the decentralisation process, the University has adopted a collegiate model which in addition to giving students wider choices and enhancing efficiency is to enhance inter-

disciplinary research. All these diversifications are also to make the universities more competitive nationally and internationally.

There has also been the introduction of general but compulsory courses. These courses are to support students in their academic and general development but do not form part of their main specified programmes. In all the universities, gender issues like HIV/AIDS and sex abuse have been introduced into the curriculum. Thus, at the School of Agriculture of the University of Ndebang, for instance, a course entitled HIV/AIDS and Agriculture has been introduced. Though gender issues are considered important in the universities, some respondents indicated that gender related programmes in some cases, are imposed by external donors, as conditions attached to their funding. Two Deans at the University of Ndebang and the University of Ojo, cited examples where the Vice Chancellors of each of the Universities had to reject certain gender related programmes because they thought they are being imposed externally but which are irrelevant to the Universities. These responses confirm studies by Manu *et.al.* (2007) which indicate that though gender issues are important they do not appear to be the priority of administrators of the universities. They indicated that budgets are not allocated to gender studies and many exist in title and not content. Much of the funding is from external sources.

Some of the general courses introduced are unique to particular universities. A major change at the University of Mawuta is the introduction of the University Required Courses. These are unique to the University and compulsory for every student (University of Mawatu handbook, 2011a; 2011b). These courses, introduced in 2009, and which were spoken of passionately by the Vice Chancellor of the University, are to ‘ensure broad-minded individuals and critical thinkers’ (Ibid). They include Academic writing, Numeracy skills, Critical thinking and Practical reasoning. The Numeracy skills are compulsory for students in the Humanities, except those offering Economics, Computer Science, Mathematics and Statistics. The courses are also to enable students solve real life

problems (University of Mawuta, 2011). To emphasise the seriousness attached to academic writing, students in the humanities are required to undertake twelve credit hours of it while students in the Sciences are required to undertake six credit hours of it.

Some academics have argued against these general subjects (Muller, 2009; Whitty, 2010; Young 2010). Though their arguments are in the context of schools in the United Kingdom, I would argue that they are applicable to the Ghanaian higher education context. This is because, such courses have been introduced in Ghanaian universities with similar objectives. Such courses are to enhance the academic, social and personal development of the student. Muller (2009) identifies them as ‘soft’ skills. Young (2010) ascertains that although these ‘soft’ skills are common in many new curricula, they pose certain unanswered questions. He argues that ‘these developments leave serious educational questions unanswered’. According to him, there is no evidence that such generic capabilities can be acquired, taught or assessed separately from specific domains with their specific contents and contexts. It is also not clear what educational purposes these subjects really achieve.

The University of Mawuta has also introduced what is called a ‘bouquet of courses’ in the Humanities and Social Sciences to make students more employable. Formerly, some courses including Dance, Archaeology and Music were regarded as having limited employability prospects. They were also believed to be pursued by people who were not academically able enough to get admission into programmes such as Law, Medicine and Sociology. These perceived unimportant courses attracted all sorts of names: Music and Dance were called ‘Dondology’²⁰. Again Archaeology was called ‘adee no’, in Twi²¹,

²⁰ This term is named after a small drum in Ghana called ‘Dondo’, which is played by various tribes in Ghana to perform traditional dancing. Students who pursued music and dance were therefore assumed to be there to study ‘dondo’.

²¹ Twi is the major local language in Ghana spoken mostly by Akans

which literally means ‘the something’ in English. One Head of Department explained these changes:

So when students come in, every student has one good subject in addition to the so called subjects which cannot give you a job. So somebody is doing sociology but is also taking dance. So they have a bouquet. So in the end, you learn a lot of things but at least you have one course which will make you employable.

Many of these changes are to enhance employment of students both at home and abroad. Though the administrators of the various universities including the Vice Chancellor of Mawuta have emphasised that university education is not just for employment, it appears they have to acknowledge the demands of the public as explained in chapter five, to effect changes in the curriculum which they think would make graduates more employable.

A Head of Department at the University of Mawuta explained the reasons underlying many of the new courses that have been introduced. She said:

So indeed, now we have several programmes that could make you work and make you money immediately. Now we are looking at horticulture, we are looking at ornamentals, plant propagation, landscaping... Now also we have veterinary medicine introduced. So obviously most of the students when they finish they can set up their own veterinary clinics (Head of Department, Agriculture, University of Ndebang)

This statement by the Head of Department also shows a significant emphasis on employment and the money to be made.

At the school and department levels, among the three fields (Agriculture, Economics and African Studies), new programmes have been introduced mainly in the Schools and Departments of Agriculture. These programmes are to conform to

international standards and aim to make students more employable in international companies and organisations. In all the universities, respondents cited the Post Genetically Modified (PGM) foods as a current international issue which has been integrated into the curriculum. A Dean of the Faculty of Agriculture at the University of Ndebang indicated that though in Africa, they have not “been too sure of it”, they thought it is important to let students “be aware that out there, there is this thing”. He continued that, “We would rather want to open to the outside world. Whenever we are designing the curriculum we try to add these things”.

Students are also being taught the European Good Agricultural Practices (EUROGAP) because according to the Deans of the Schools/Departments of Agriculture, these practices have influences on agricultural practises in Ghana. He indicated that students have to be taught these principles because many of the farming companies and exporters producing for the European market have to use the EUROGAP procedures and principles.

Another major discourse, especially at the Departments of Economics and Agriculture in all the universities studied, is to encourage entrepreneurship as a virtue in students. At the University of Mawuta, every student from the Agricultural Department does a three-hour credit course in entrepreneurship whilst at the University of Ndebang students of Agriculture are required to do a two-hour credit course. At the departments of Agriculture, in addition to students doing compulsory courses in entrepreneurship, an Agribusiness programme has been introduced in all the universities to encourage such skills in students. A Head of Department of Agribusiness at the University of Ojo explained the rational. He said it is “to develop students who will not only be in the academics (and government organisations) but will become practitioners in the business world. The whole idea is business”.

In my interviews with students, it was indicated that almost all the students have the will to go and set up their own businesses. Some of the advantages associated with such new developments include reducing the rate of unemployment, encouraging industrial production and in the end enhancing the living standards of individuals in the society.

The Agricultural Department at the University of Mawuta has also made efforts to enhance the practicality of the programmes offered. This was done by the department reducing the course credits of students so they could have more room to do practicals. After a review of the programme, students were asked to do 18 credit hours instead of 21 - 26 credits within the semester. The programme was also tailored in such a way that by the time students get to their third year, they would have had adequate background training in all the various sections. For instance if a student was doing crop science, s/he has to do animal science and soil science among other subjects in the department up to the third year. It is only in the fourth year that the student can do his/her major.

Students also have the opportunity to combine two programmes as areas of specialisation. So they could have a major in Economics and have a minor in crop science and vice versa. According to the Head of Department:

That made them more sellable... So for instance if you go to work in the bank and you are put on project analysis and you have to draw up a budget and also plan the entire programme you know exactly what to do as a production person and you know economics as well to develop your budget... It was because of the feedback we were getting from our stake-holders that is what led to the review basically.

At the department of economics of the University of Ndebang, it was indicated that many programmes which the Head of Department referred to as 'orthodox' have been phased out. These include what were history of economics, principles, micro, macro and banking. More current programmes including the e-commerce economics have been introduced.

With the high spate of information technology and internet usage, this programme will help to enhance internet usage in trade and communication, among other transactions. The importance of e-commerce has been emphasised by the OECD which indicated that e-commerce 'has the potential to radically alter economic activities and social environment (1999: 9). In addition, the importance of technology in general is being emphasised in the department. As indicated earlier, models are lifted from Western societies to guide many of the academic activities.

Many writers have expressed concern about the adverse effects of much of the curriculum and other changes occurring in universities (Bridges, 2000; Harris, 2011, 2008; Young, 2007). Though the contexts of many of the writers are of Western countries, the concerns are applicable to the Ghanaian context. Moore and Young perceive such changes as 'instrumentalism under the guise of promoting the employability of all students' (2001: 448).

In effect, Moore and Young indicated that though the universities are autonomous in decision-making, ultimately, they have to align their curriculum to programmes that will attract government funding. These ideas are also linked to incessant emphasis on what Torres calls neoliberal 'common sense' (2011: 177). According to him, the emphasis on the centrality of the market 'has resulted in reforms rationalised as advancing international competition' (Ibid). Many of these writers have argued that education should be perceived as an end in itself and not a means to an end. Harris (2011), in her book, *'the University in Translation: internationalizing higher education'* indicates that the supremacy given to the economic role of universities impoverishes the meaning of education. Education has been reduced to what can be counted and measured instead of fostering critical thinking, sound judgement and the ability of students to make decisions.

In Ghana, with the high rate of unemployment coupled with high level of poverty and inequalities, the instrumental use of knowledge is more emphasised. It is through education that people hope to get employment and achieve social mobility upwards. The hope of many families in Ghana is to 'educate' their children to be 'somebody'. With limited social security systems and other facilities to safe-guard the elderly as exists in Western countries (for example, availability of homes for the elderly), people see their children as financial and 'social security' in their old age. The emphasis on instrumental and economic benefits of knowledge however, detracts attention from deeper questions about the purpose of education and its relation to meaning making and knowledge formation (Burke and Jackson, 2007). I argue that it is essential the Ghanaian universities return to a more critical orientation of examining the purpose of higher education. Such critical orientation is needed if the institutions could offer education suited to the needs of the Ghanaian context.

With the emphasis on employment, a major demand and challenge of all the universities is seen to provide practical training to students. It appears practical training is presently valued more than academic knowledge. All respondents complained of irrelevance of the curriculum due to its limited practical emphasis. Some of the responses of the students indicated for instance, that knowledge acquired without any technical and practical knowledge is 'nothing'. A student from the Department of Economics at the University of Ndebang said:

What I have realised on campus here is that normally if you say that you will only sit down and learn what they will teach you, you can leave this place with nothing. What you can also do to help yourself is to acquire knowledge [skills] outside whatever you have been taught because the learning process here is more of theory and not practical.

Some students in a group interviewed at the University of Ndebang indicated how they are learning skills outside what they learn in class to help them with employment. This is in line with what Jones (2013) said that students now concentrate on courses that will enhance what they perceive as the highest investment returns. In Ghana, what is expected to yield such returns, in many cases, is the acquisition of skills. Acquisition of knowledge is perceived as irrelevant and useless in a neoliberal world. Expressing concern about the emphasis on skills, Bridges indicates that emphasis on employment skills ‘shifts the balance from understanding to skills, from knowing that to knowing how...’ (2000: 46).

Burke and Jackson have argued that many of these discourses are related to ‘wider discourses about what count as knowledge...’ (2007: 24). In the end the privileged knowledge generates many challenges including emphasising and exacerbating inequalities. I argue that such emphasis distracts attention from deeper questions about the purpose of education and its relations to meaning making and knowledge formation. I argue for the universities to return to a more critical orientation of examining the purpose of higher education. Such orientations will help the universities to emphasise knowledge that will be beneficial to the country.

The place of indigenous knowledge

With the emphasis on instrumental knowledge and employment, it is not surprising that it is only at the University of Ndebang that students pursue African studies as a Bachelor’s degree programme²². In all the other universities, ‘African studies’ is pursued as a core for graduation, but students do not pursue it as a Bachelor’s degree programme. Every student does a three-hour credit course in African studies in the first year of his/her programme. Beside these core courses in African studies, Indigenous knowledge systems (IKS) and practices are not emphasised in the curricula. When I asked an academic respondent at the

²² African studies are done at the Masters levels in all the universities

Department of Agriculture at the University of Ndebang why IKS are not emphasised in Agriculture, he responded, 'what is the market for IKS, there is no market for IKS'. Another respondent who is a Dean at the Faculty of Social Sciences in the University of Ndebang said:

...the point is people are looking for daily bread, what will give them the daily bread is what they are going to follow. If IKS will not give them a job, what is their problem? You are wasting their time (Dean Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ndebang).

These statements suggest how Indigenous knowledge systems are downplayed in the present discourse of employment and instrumental use of knowledge. It is now more difficult to emphasise indigenous knowledge systems because it has limited employment opportunities. Jaggar (2013), in a presentation on 'languages and language contact in sub Saharan Africa: Life and death', for instance, gave reasons why in Africa, English and French are continually being emphasised more than the local languages. A major reason according to him is the instrumental usage of these languages. He argues that these languages are 'critical to success in Education, political participation and economic advancement'. And according to Fanon, speaking the colonist language 'is the key to open doors which only fifty years ago still remained closed to him' (2008: 21).

Concerning the interests of students in the subject, a professor at the African Studies department said:

I cannot say they are wholly enthusiastic, yea, to a certain extent some students have never been enthusiastic about doing African studies. It is like a chore, they do it because there is no way out (Academic, African Studies, University of Mawuta)

An Academic at the Economics Department at the University of Ndebang also said:

Students don't place much value in those areas. When someone says they are doing African Studies, people look at you some way and ask what you are using the programme for? In terms of Social Studies, all they think about is Economics.

The Pro-Vice Chancellor at the University of Ojo has a different story to say about the students at the University of Ojo and their attitude towards African studies. He said:

In this faculty it is to a large extent, and the students are even pushing it faster. When you expose somebody to these things they go like ah so this is it. When you are teaching African studies, at first the number will be small then it starts to increase then we start looking for chairs

In my interviews the responses I had from students was similar to the observations of the Pro-Vice Chancellor. Almost all students in the various universities attested to the importance of indigenous knowledge systems. One of the student leaders at the University of Ndebang in talking about the impact of a course, Pan Africanism, said:

It changed my perception about the entire African continent. It exposed me to the issue that Africans can be ourselves if we want to be. It is just that we try to suppress our values and copy blindly.

This statement, which is similar to many of the responses of students in the study, indicates that many of the students have much interest in IKS. The statement confirms that emphasis on IKS can enhance the confidence and identity of these students which are essential in both national and international development.

It appears the best strategy that has been adopted in the universities, and which respondents continue to think as the best strategy in 'promoting indigenous knowledge systems' is using local examples to explain foreign theories and concepts. This is regarded

as a major step because previously, even examples used to explain the foreign theories and principles were foreign: right from kindergarten to tertiary institutions.

A programme which was initially developed to address national needs and enhance indigenous knowledge systems, and which has now gained popularity as an internationalisation strategy is the Third Trimester Field Practical Programme (TTFPP) at the University of Ojo. As indicated in chapter two, the University of Ojo was mandated at its inception ‘to blend the academic world with that of the community to provide constructive interaction between the two for the total development of the Northern region in particular and the country as a whole’ (PNDC Law 279 section 2). In furtherance to this commission, the University adopted the TTFPP. It is an eight-week programme whereby students live and work in selected rural communities. With this programme, instead of the two semester calendar of all the universities in Ghana, the University has three semesters. Students use the third semester to go to the communities. The main objectives as indicated in the field guide of the programme are:

To help students develop favourable attitudes towards working in rural communities...expose students, practically, to the nature and dimensions of development problems plaguing rural communities... provide useful services to Ghanaian communities through the exchange of knowledge and its application to address the felt needs and aspiration of these communities... [and] generate data for further research into problem solving development issues, and other purposes.

The programme ensures that both students and staff work closely with the disadvantaged, marginalised and hard-to-reach people and communities with a focus on poverty reduction (a speech by the Vice Chancellor, 2011). The programme covers over a 1000 communities a year. In the communities, students identify their needs, write proposals and submit them to appropriate bodies for these needs to be addressed. The Director of the programme

emphasised the deplorable conditions in which the students stay in the communities. He indicated that in some cases the nearest to civilisation of the communities are bore holes. He said:

That is why we are saying wherever you are from, go and stay in villages and drink dirty water with them and if you think that water is not good, from what you have learnt up to the university as basic hygiene, practice it there. Sleep in the same room as they are sleeping. With all your book knowledge see how you can survive, whether it is mosquito, lack of toilet, etc. Though you claim to know how to use water closet, in the absence of WC [Water Closet], can life still be manageable, can hygiene still be practiced and if you think using the WC is challenging, so what is the alternative for a community where there is no running water. May be I will not have an answer, but the younger ones who are challenged with it may have an answer (Director of the TTFPP).

This statement by the Director of TTFPP indicates that the University of Ojo is not just subjecting its students to the hardships of the communities for no good reason. They are expecting that by so doing, the students, through innovation, will over time find solutions to local problems. It also ensures that students emphasise IKS in addition to scientific knowledge to address problems and challenges identified in the communities (Kabruise, 2003). Some of the students, through their own initiatives, and as spin offs of the programme teach children in the communities, build mud houses as schools for them, and some even adopt children to sponsor them to learn a trade in the cities. The students generally serve as role models to the communities.

Recently, this programme is gradually attracting many universities both within and outside Africa that want their students to come and experience this kind of community engagement. The Director of International programme indicated that the international

interest in the programme contributed to the change of the Mission statement at the University of Ojo to include ‘world class pro-poor university’. As she said:

We should recognise our status. If people come from Canada, US and Australia and tell us that they have checked all over the internet and it is only our programme that is interesting, I think we should not ignore that. We should consider ourselves as such.

Such recognition is also enhancing much confidence of the University at the international front. The TTFPP approach has now become their flagship programme internationally.

Astin and Astin (2000) have emphasised the importance of community engagement in building leadership skills and civic responsibility in students. As students shared their experiences of the programme with me as a researcher, many emphasised they will never forget the suffering of many of the people in the communities and they are sure their experiences will impact on their services to the nation after school. One student told me:

Madam, we stay with them for almost two months. There, you are part of them.

When you go and you see the food they eat, the water they drink, and all that, you will be shocked. People share water with animals. When we get to the top definitely we will remember (University of Ojo, Agric student).

Another student described how they tend to love the community members in spite of the hardships, they the students go through. He explained that the first time they get to the communities almost every student cries and call their families back home to complain where they have been sent to. In the end however, after their two months stay, many of the students do not want to leave the communities.

We were eleven in our group. When we reached the village, everybody was crying except me. I didn’t call because I didn’t have anybody to call. But later, those who

were crying were calling for an extension from 2 months to 3 months (Student of Economics, University of Ojo).

After the community programme, there is no community, no society, you can't fix. There you meet a whole lot of people, drink, communicate with a whole lot of people. The first time you go you will cry, but after some time you will find it difficult to leave (Student of Agriculture, University of Ojo).

Whilst this approach to tertiary education was unique to the University of Ojo, it appears that in the context of international and local influences, the University of Ndebang is gradually adopting some features of it. Though there appears to be no policy at the institutional or national level mandating it as at the University of Ojo, many Departments at Ndebang have policies now that allow their students to go to the local communities to learn the ways of the people. They also identify problems and solutions to them, and also learn from the communities.

At the School of Agriculture of the University of Ndebang, students go out for six weeks to visit local communities. They visit community members in their farms to study how things are done locally. According to respondents, visiting the communities helps students to fit into the society rather than just doing theoretical work which may not have any application out there. The School of Agriculture also organises field trips to various places to give students hands on experience.

The Department of Agricultural Extension Services, which is under the School of Agriculture at Ndebang, also undertakes a major engagement with the community. This programme, known as the Supervised Enterprise Projects (SEPs), is a community engagement programme that gives students the opportunity to actually experience the realities of farming systems and agribusiness through planning, management and

evaluation of their action-oriented and client focused off-campus community projects' (university website).

The programme was developed through collaboration of the Department with the Ministry of Food and Agriculture (MoFA) and the Sasakawa Fund for Extension Education (SAFE). It is a two-year programme. In the first year, students are exposed to various theories and new technologies. They then go to the communities to do action research, and this involves identifying problems in the community and proposing solutions. They also learn from the farmers and the community Indigenous technologies. This programme has assumed international reputation though for now it is limited to African countries with over 15 African countries replicating this programme. The Head of the Department of the extension services indicated that the programme is limited to African countries because many of the problems it seeks to address are Africa related.

Third year students in the African studies department also go to the field to identify problems in the communities. Students stay with families in the communities for about three weeks. Such a programme, as indicated by one Head of Department, is to help acquire 'home grown...skills that will be able to solve problems in the society'. It is also to help students identify real needs in the community with the aim of addressing them. In addition, it is to help students to become more immersed in the society instead of alienating them from their roots as has been the case. Further, it aims to help students know, understand and tolerate other people's culture.

At the time of my fieldwork, the University of Mawuta did not have such a programme. But a respondent hinted this issue had been raised and there are discussions as to whether the University could pursue it. According to Astin and Astin (2000), community engagement enables students to be critical thinkers and be able to address societal problems. It also enables them to interact with community members, participate in community activities, learn from the community and from real life experiences, and

actually bring the university to the communities. It also helps students to serve as role models, and develop empathy for village life (Bonsall *et. al.*, 2003). Cress *et. al.* (2010) discuss from another dimension that university-community engagement enhances student access and retention. This is because according to them, students are able to relate to what they learn in the communities. It does make learning interesting. It is significant to say that while this programme is to enable students to identify problems in the community they visit and help address them, a major rationale for the programme is also to enable students to develop the interest and desire to work in rural areas.

The community programme, I would argue, could be among the best programmes for developing a global citizen rooted in the national and the local community. Without the national, there cannot be an international. Makiguchi (1871-1944) identified the global citizen on three levels: the local, the national and the global. According to him, ‘the character of a global citizen is created through a dynamic harmonization and development of these three levels’ (in Noddings 2005: x). As Sheppard (2004) indicates, ‘Global citizenship is a daily responsibility. It means, making a contribution to the community of which I am part’ (p.35). The education of the global citizen therefore has to begin at the local community and extend outward from there. It is important for all the universities to enable and facilitate the process of student learning and engagement in the local communities in which they are situated.

The universities are also concerned with quality issues including the quality of academics, grading systems, enrolment, infrastructure, and quality assurance. The next session looks at the strategies to enhance quality in the universities.

Quality related strategies

Apart from changes in the programmes, the universities have also adopted strategies to enhance the curriculum. This section discusses these strategies.

Quality and qualification of academics

To enhance the quality of their lecturers, there is now a policy in all the three universities which requires all lecturers to hold PhD degrees. Consequently, there is also a mandatory minimum entry point of PhD for all lecturers to teach in the universities. To facilitate this policy, many members of faculty are sent abroad to do their PhD studies. Presently, the University of Mawuta has about 120 students studying for their PhDs overseas. They are sponsored from multiple sources, including the Government, national and international organisations such as the Association of Commonwealth Universities and the Netherlands organisation for international cooperation in higher education (NUFFIC)²³, the Carnegie foundation In Ghana and the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA). NUFFIC, as part of their international outreach programmes, is involved in assisting individuals including students, academics and members of the governing bodies of the universities to pursue various levels of degrees in the Netherlands. They are also involved in assisting in research and publications. These organisations also help with other capacity building, including leadership training and management practices at the universities (Effah and Senadza, 2008).

As indicated in Chapter six, the universities also have foreign scholars but as indicated by Effah and Senadza (2008) the universities are not able to attract many of these scholars. Those who come to the universities are on short-term contracts or are visiting scholars sponsored by their home countries or by other external donors. The universities also attract scholars especially from the Sub-region to spend their sabbatical in Ghana (Ibid)

²³ Nuffic is 'an independent, non-profit organisation based in The Hague, the Netherlands. Nuffic supports internationalisation in higher education, research and professional education in the Netherlands and abroad, and helps improve access to higher education worldwide' (NUFFIC website).

Grading systems

The internationalisation agenda has equally impacted on the grading systems. A new grading policy was introduced at the University of Mawuta in September 2011. The grading system has moved from the old British system towards the American system. With the new policy, students need to get 80 percent and above to get an A, 75-79 percent to get a B+ and 70-74 percent to get a B. This is unlike earlier years when students needed to get 70 percent and above to get an A. Now students need to get 65-69 percent to get a C+, instead of A- in the old grading system. Students also need to get an aggregate of 3.60-4.00 to get a first class instead of 3.50 - 4.0 in the old grading system. This is not to say that it is more difficult to get a particular grade under the American system. An average knowledge of a subject can get a person 70 percent under the American system whereas it will get the person about 50 percent under the Old British system. In addition, the American system may use a bell-shaped grading system where irrespective of the marks obtained, a few people may get an A, a few students may fail and most students may pass. Under the old British grading system, however, there is no restriction as to the number of students who may obtain a grade.

The University of Ndebang changed its grading system to the American system more than a decade ago. In both universities, the change of grading systems generated many student demonstrations as they expressed their opposition to the policy. The change of grades did not only meet opposition from students but some academics as well. Concerning the change of grading system at the University of Mawuta, this is what a student wrote anonymously on an internet blog:

Instead of the university authorities finding solutions to the enormous problems that students face on campus, this is what they think students are in dying need of.

Those in the distance education programme have to wait half way into the semester

to get their books; sometimes almost at the tail end of the semester. What do you expect students like these to do with almost 300-page book (six units: thirty six sections) within two months?...if this inhumane policy [the grading system] is not checked immediately, it would become a major contributor to unemployment. It will also give students who were not affected a greater competitive edge over those who have to pass through this grading system (posted by an anonymous student of the University on the internet).

According to this statement, some students believed the changes in grades would impact more negatively than positively considering the poor conditions in the universities. Such conditions, including limited physical infrastructure, would make it more difficult for students to achieve the desired grade which they believed, would affect for instance their prospect for jobs and the pursuit of further studies. Students also thought that the high scores needed to get desired grades would affect their extra curriculum and socialization programmes. This is because they believed they may have to study more than necessary. At the time of my interviews (November-December, 2012), these changes had not been effected at the University of Mawuta. The students at this University suggested, in the midst of all the challenges confronting them as students, the extra curriculum activities gave them much pleasure. One student said:

Well I will say... [the University of Mawuta] is an institution that teaches students how to blend academic life with socialisation... I mean, you can't have a university where you always force students to always study ... [the University of Mawuta] teaches you to blend seriousness with your social life.

All the other students in the group agreed to this statement. I can then not imagine their frustration if they have to study like at the University of Ndebang, as they cited as example of an institutions where students do have relatively limited social life on campus. In relation to the changes in the grading system, students expressed their concern about the mode of assessment with seeming emphasis on examinations. A student indicated:

May be it is the African or if I could say Ghanaian structure of assessing students, yes they purely base the assessment on examination, which I think shouldn't be the case. Someone might not be good with the exams but when it comes to thinking or cognitive abilities he is really good but when it comes to writing the examination may be he might not be so good. That is why some of us, we use exams questions...Everything is like what you have been given is what you should produce. You should not think outside the box.

This statement again shows the displeasure of students about the mode of assessment, which they think, in addition to changes to the grading systems will really affect their cumulative score.

Infrastructure

The fact that world class and research universities are expensive has been confirmed by many writers (Altbach, 2007; Samil, 2009). Among other needs, they require what is perceived as appropriate infrastructure to conduct the best research, teaching and learning. Up to the early 1970s, public universities in Ghana used to have large lecture halls able to seat students comfortably and large rooms per student at the halls of residences. Then came the political instabilities and economic difficulties of the 1970s and beyond during which the universities lost lecturers and the infrastructure could not be expanded, resulting in very congested lecture rooms and halls of residences. Now, the universities, especially

Ndebang and Mawuta, have embarked on significant infrastructural expansion including halls of residence, lecture rooms and internet facilities. This is being driven by the need to meet international standards such as student size per lecture hall and number of students in rooms at the halls of residence. These changes, it is believed, enhance the quality of university education. The Director of academics at the University of Mawuta explained:

It is not that you admit students and only teach them. You need to let them be comfortable in class and know certain courtesies. In a library of 20 people, you don't put 200 people there. If the learning facilities are not good then what sort of students are you producing? ...Or ... in terms of lecture rooms, they are crowded. In one lecture room you have over 500 students, all these things do not auger well for a good or a world class university. Now no class should be more than 300 students (Academic Administrator, University of Mawuta).

At the University of Mawuta, unlike previously where students could not get continuous accommodation at the University, generating policies like in-in-out-out or in-out-out-in, administrators have indicated that every student can have continuous accommodation if s/he so desires. These policies regulate the number of years and when new students could be accommodated on campus. For instance, the in-in-out-out means that students would be accommodated on campus in the first two years but have to be non-resident in the third and fourth years. The in-out-out-in means they will be accommodated in the first and final years but would be non-residential in the second and third years. With many facilities being put up, 'perching' (i.e. the unofficial lodging of a student with an officially accommodated student in the university-provided student accommodation) has been abolished. In addition, there is much improvement in internet facilities and the University of Mawuta appears to have one of the best websites of all the institutions.

Though the University of Ndebang has equally put up various buildings and enhanced its teaching-learning facilities, the University of Mawuta has made the greatest strides in this direction. The least infrastructural development has occurred at the University of Ojo which as mentioned earlier is a much younger institution.

Enrolment

In addition to increasing their infrastructure, the universities have also reduced their enrolment to be able to provide adequate and quality facilities for students. Respondents expressed how previously large numbers of students in the university vis-a-vis the limited facilities affected the ability of the universities to teach students. A former Vice Chancellor had this to say:

The conditions within the University make it difficult to train students. That is the numbers are such that a number of the students go through the university without the University going through them. They come in and go out but the only difference is they have acquired the knowledge and skills but their attitude, behaviour, nothing has changed (Former Vice Chancellor, University of Ndebang).

At the University of Ojo, in 2011, 2,647 students were admitted as against 7,020 the previous year because of lack of facilities. At the University of Mawuta, student numbers in class have been reduced drastically from over 500 to a maximum of 300 for humanities and a maximum of 150 for the sciences. A significant issue with such reductions is the impact on widening access to and participation in university education. Before such reductions, the universities could admit just about a third or less of qualified students who apply for admission. These cuts made it worse. Whilst there is no doubt about the negative impact of large student numbers on teaching and learning, what should also be taken into consideration is the increase in inequalities and poverty that will result from reduced

admission to universities. The Vice Chancellor of Mawuta, in talking about the issues of Africanisation and poverty had this to say:

I believe that every individual owes himself or herself a duty of lifting himself or herself out of poverty... I am poor because of how I was born but where I was born I am not obliged to be there. I can leave that place...I cannot blame everybody about my poverty except myself (Vice Chancellor).

The statement from the Vice Chancellor shows his belief in the need and responsibility of individuals to rise above unfavourable background and environment to achieve what they desire in life. The statement appears a strongly meritocratic view that denies structural disadvantages and can be seen as emanating from neoliberalism; in the neoliberal world, the individual, and not the society, is blamed for inequalities (Desjardins, 2013).

An interview with students on why they chose to be in the university revealed very similar responses. Many of the students are in the universities because they believe that is what will move them to a higher social status, that is what will make them 'somebody' and achieve 'societal recognition and respect'. These expectations are confirmed by studies conducted by Morley, *et. al.* (2010), on higher education in Ghana. But could it be that certain educational policies and environment limit these individuals? Could it be that policies to reduce students' enrolment to suit international standards limit these attempts of a student to lift 'himself or herself out of poverty'? Demonstrations embarked by students in reaction against the scrapping of 'perching' in the University of Mawuta indicate that despite the adverse comments by students mentioned earlier, many university students in Ghana do not care about sharing rooms with five other students. Many students do not have problems attending lectures with 1200 other students. What they really want is to

study and graduate. In Ghana, education seems to be the major factor that changes peoples' social status from lower to higher level, and provides hope and social security for families.

Coles has argued that though discourses about the advantages of higher education are not new, 'changes in economic and social conditions and the diversity of students in the 21st century make it all the more important' (2013: 6). Education, or more specifically, higher education, is 'the greatest catalyst for social mobility across class, socio-economic status, and ethnicity (Ibid). The need to avoid further marginalising of the poor is especially important in Ghana, where high levels of social and economic inequalities exist (Aryeetey *et. al.* 2009; Coulombe and Wodon, 2007; Fosu, 2011, Imai *et. al.* 2010; Mckay and Aryeetey, 2007).

Centres of quality assurance

To ensure that academic programmes meet their goals, all the universities have established centres of quality assurance directed by Professors. The Centres have major roles in assessing and evaluating lecturers, programmes, methods of teaching and examinations. Students are also given the opportunity to assess lecturers on their performance in the lecture room. Assumptions underlying the emphasis on quality assurance in Western universities are similar to the Ghanaian context.

Naidoo and Jamieson (2007) in discussing issues surrounding quality assurance in the UK have confirmed that it is to empower students to demand 'quality' education and ensure that programmes pursued are relevant to the job market. Naidoo and Jamieson again indicate that the assumption is to impact positively on the 'professional practices of academic staff'. With such assessments, it is assumed that universities will provide the expected knowledge and efficient teaching-learning activities to avoid losing out in competition within and out of the universities (Ibid).

Many practitioners and researchers however have argued against such developments. Naidoo and Jamieson (2007) have for instance, argued that such developments, rather, will affect ‘professional identities of academics, the curriculum and teaching, the nature and outcomes of student learning, inequality and labour market skills’ (p. 269). The intrinsic value of education will be eroded, while what can be physically attained from education is emphasised.

Power relations and politics

As indicated in the introduction of this chapter, though the strategies adopted by the universities in their internationalisation process have a semblance of democracy, there are influences, I would argue, of power and politics. It is to these power relations that I now turn.

Brock-Utne (2004) has indicated that it is impossible to talk about policies in African higher education, without mentioning financial organisations such as the World Bank, the IMF and their financial implications. This is more so in the knowledge contentions and the curriculum development of the universities. Though in terms of curriculum development, it was indicated that the World Bank, the IMF and other organisations do not influence the contents directly by telling the universities what to do, they may fund the development process of the curriculum, developing new programmes, training lecturers and researchers. In Ghana a major contribution of funding for the development of curriculum was through the Teaching and Learning Innovation Fund (TALIF) which was introduced in 2005. It is one of the three components of Ghana’s Education Sector Projects (EdSep). According to the TALIF Operational Manual (Version 2.B, 2005) cited on the website of the TALIF unit, the Fund is “a development tool designed to enhance the ability of the country’s tertiary institutions to fulfil their primary responsibilities” of teaching, learning and extension of knowledge to the wider community. One of the main aims was to ‘raise the quality of tertiary level teaching and learning’

(website of the Talif Unit). For this project, the International Development Association of the World Bank committed \$33.4 million credit, for which the Government of Ghana provided the equivalent of 10% as a counterpart fund. The project originally had a term of five years which should have ended in October 2009, however it was extended by two years to October, 2011 after consultations with the World Bank.

The next level in this discussion of power relations and politics is the perception of Western superiority as discussed in the previous chapter. The assumption is summed up in what an academic at the University of Ndebang said:

We have to understand that they have taken the lead so we have to think of catching up with them before we go our own way. If we say we are going our own way, it is not possible. Just simply because, they have taken lead, and in economics, we say dominant strategy, and once they are leaders...we are followers (Academic, Economics Department, University of Ndebang).

This statement portrays the extent to which many Africans perceive Western countries as leaders whose values, perspectives and knowledge systems must automatically be followed. Western goals and guidance are mainly perceived as the surest way for non-Western countries to equally 'succeed'. As Ashcroft *et. al.* have indicated, even after colonisation, European culture has become so endemic that many Africans have a 'desire not only to be accepted but to be adopted and absorbed' (2002: 4).

While the wider literature has emphasised the impact of colonialism on many African countries, I believe internationalisation may have worse effects. In the name of internationalisation, Western presence appears obligatory in almost every plan and strategy of the universities: strategic plans, curriculum development, governance and classroom management. With this desperate need of the Universities to copy and be accepted, the little achievements by theorists, academics and policy makers to encourage some sense of

confidence among Africans will be lost, gradually, but completely. Ghanaian academics now appear to feel justified, in the name of internationalisation, to continue their dependency on the North. Some of the questions they appear to fail to ask are, ‘to what extent, does Harvard or any other University in the West wish to be like a university in Ghana’? And, ‘to what extent does Harvard include African experts in order to be accepted by Africans’? It is true many universities in the North consider the need for acceptance in developing countries, but I think these are for different reasons, probably, to devise strategies to attract international students. Internationalisation may also deepen the dependency syndrome of the universities in Ghana.

At the institutional levels, the administrators appear to have much power in terms of what is to be emphasised. For instance, the Vice Chancellor of Mawuta indicates he has a single focus to make Mawuta a ‘World Class’ university. In my interview with him, he described the mission to Internationalise as ‘my vision’. On the other hand, to achieve his aims, I would argue, demands a lot of strategies and decision-making. These strategies and decision making equally involve multiple layers of power relations including the government, policy makers and less powerful individuals, as well as students. A section of the Strategic plan of the University confirms the multiplicity of power relations to negotiate in the process of effecting major changes in the University. The section is as follows:

The achievement of a lucid strategic definition requires an unprecedented degree of agreement between academics, administrators and trustees such as has previously been thought as unattainable in traditional academy (The Strategic plan University of Mawuta: 4).

It was thus somehow surprising that almost every respondent appeared to buy into the idea of internationalisation and they all appeared to say similar things. Respondents also did not

differ much in their responses about challenges of the nation and many other related issues. While administrators may not have used force to influence respondents, it appears there had been a lot of orientations on the goals and strategies of the University. As Burke says, power is also ‘produced through the discourses that shape the ways in which we know’ (2012: 38). Burke and Jackson in their discussions on lifelong learning and the concept of power, indicate that:

It is the constitution of knowledge claims as ‘truth’ that is linked to systems of power: those who have the power-institutionally as well as individually- to determine and legitimize ‘truth’ also have the power to determine dominant discourses. This exercise of power happens so thoroughly, so powerfully, and so ideologically, that the political nature of discourses become hidden (2007:6).

Though the context of Burke and Jackson was on lifelong learning more broadly, the statement could also apply elsewhere and in my case the discourse of internationalisation in the University of Mawuta.

Could it also be that the Vice Chancellor, in a subtle use of power and politics, was able to convince the majority of the Academics to toe his line? As I indicated in the methodology chapter, the time of gathering my data coincided with the release of classified diplomatic cables from the US Embassy in Ghana by the international whistle blowing website (Wiki leaks). This release implicated many renowned journalists and politicians and created a lot of political tensions. Respondents were therefore cautious with what they said. Again, the issue of power relations was not explicitly explored in the research but some statements suggested tensions beneath the surface.

I am by no means arguing that the power exercised by administrators, should be perceived negatively, it becomes worrying however, when in an institution of knowledge, more so Ghana, with all the historical, social-cultural and economic implications, power

could be used to make Academics tow in line of a particular agenda. Again, I will argue the use or misuse of power could trickle down from the top to the bottom. For instance, as the Vice Chancellor advocates for internationalisation, the Deans of faculties and Schools will emphasise it, forcing other members of the university into it. For instance, with the aggressiveness of administrators on benchmarking, I will argue, it will be difficult for people to emphasise other strategies or rationales. Data on the other universities, suggested explicit use of subtle politics and power to achieve particular agendas, only in these universities, it had to do with promoting indigenous knowledge systems. When I asked the Head of the Department of Economics, the extent to which IKS has been emphasised in the curriculum, he said:

Now, very, very, minimal. For us in my department I don't think we have done much. I have decided to put my three-man team together then we will think of what to do... The team I am talking about is a very, very, young team, two just finished their PhDs and we will think of what we can to force that there should be a new way of thinking for the department...For now we have not gone too far and I am not sure whatever it is...Any time we are going to come out to the department, the three must be available to support my arguments. So it is like a lobbying group to make sure you don't think about new issues and they get dumped like we have a lot of things in the library.

This statement is an explicit display of power and politics of the Head to achieve his policies. Trickle down effect can be challenging as not everybody likes it. So for those who have been promised that they will benefit in time their actual experience is more likely to remain unbearable.

Conclusions

This chapter has discussed curriculum related changes that have occurred as part of the internationalisation efforts of the universities. I have argued that these changes tend to be informed by Western standards and neoliberal ideology where there is a privileging of economic benefits of education. There is a major demand for universities to provide practical aspects of training and also to enhance the entrepreneurial skills of students to promote self-employment after graduation. There are not many differences among the universities in their emphasis on employment as a major factor of curriculum development.

A new emerging interest I argued is community participation and the efforts to promote community-university relationships at the University of Ojo and at various Departments of the University of Ndebang. Such programmes were mainly confined to the University of Ojo and the Supervised Enterprise Programme (SEP) at the School of Agriculture at the University of Ndebang.

Having discussed the strategies adopted to enhance the international aspirations of the universities, the next chapter looks at the challenges confronting the universities.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CHALLENGES

Introduction

As the universities strive to position themselves internationally, they are confronted with many challenges, which limit their ability to contribute meaningfully to the internationalisation agenda. The challenges also limit their abilities to challenge the dominant discourse and offer a different and distinctive ‘internationalisation’.

In this chapter, I discuss the research question on challenges facing Ghanaian public universities. Though the chapter is on the challenges, I will at the end consider the strengths and opportunities of the universities to influence the dominant internationalisation discourse.

Challenges

According to Tefferra and Altbach (2004), it is unquestionable to state that ‘African higher education faces severe challenges’. These challenges affect the ability of the universities to participate and contribute meaningfully to the internationalisation process. MacGregor (2011) has stated that apart from South Africa, the concept of internationalisation seems to be slowly catching up in other African countries. According to her, Africa continues to be at the periphery of international education, without any meaningful influences or identity. The key challenges I will focus on include lack of national policy on internationalisation, limited funding, limited research capabilities, stigmatisation of African universities and challenges related to promotion of indigenous knowledge systems.

Lack of national policy on Internationalisation

Currently, there is no national policy regulating the internationalisation of higher education in Ghana, especially at institutional level. It is also significant to add that there is no

comprehensive national policy on higher education in Ghana to direct the institutions' activities and goals (Communiqué on Tertiary Education Policy Dialogue, 2013). Knight (2004) has explained that internationalisation policies at the national level include all policies that impact or are impacted by international education in the country including immigration laws, foreign relation policies, trade, employment and accreditation. Mok (2012) has also identified some of the national policies on internationalisation in some East Asian countries as increase of private higher educational institutions, more autonomy to universities to make decisions and encouraging self-financing of the institutions.

Though there may be national policies involving some of these issues in Ghana, there is no national policy related to funding, research, teaching, programmes and general direction of internationalisation at the universities. Many of the strategies and policies adopted by the universities are on an ad hoc basis. Knight (2004) distinguishes between bottom-up and top-down approaches to internationalisation. With the top-down approach, internationalisation starts at the national level while with the bottom-up, it starts at the institutional level. In the Ghanaian universities, internationalisation is more of a bottom-up approach; this has several implications, including challenges of funding; need for a national regulatory framework; and programmes to enhance the internationalisation process. Funding of the internationalisation process of the universities, for example, is more limited to granting scholarships to students and staff to study abroad (Effah and Senadza, 2008). These scholarships are however limited. In 2013, the government declared it has further reduced the number of scholarships given to students through the Ghana Education Trust Fund (GETFUND) to study abroad. The GETFund is a public trust set up by an Act of Parliament in the year 2000. Its core mandate is to provide funding to supplement government effort for the provision of educational infrastructure and facilities within the public sector from the pre-tertiary to the tertiary level. Since its inception in 2000, it has provided much financial support to universities in Ghana (Manu, *et.al.*, 2007).

Contrarily, many Western and Asian countries including the US, the UK, India and China have national policies to regulate internationalisation. As indicated by Altbach and Knight, many European countries spearheaded by the EU have many internationalisation policies and ‘lavishly funded programmes’ (2007: 293). These programmes include the Erasmus Mundus programme. The Erasmus Mundus, ‘aims to enhance the quality of European higher education and to promote dialogue and understanding between people and cultures through cooperation with Third-Countries’ (website of European commission). A major goal of this programme is to enhance internationalisation in particularly European countries.

In the East Asia countries as attested by Mok, various governments ‘have combined pro-world policies including heavy investment from the state, a rapid process of internationalisation, and a strong emphasis on publishing in international, specifically English-language-journals’ (2012: 41). As indicated above, the limited policies on internationalisation worsen the financial plight of the Ghanaian universities to pursue their internationalisation agenda. One cannot analyse the internationalisation process without discussing the challenges imposed by limited funding of the universities; this is the focus of the next section.

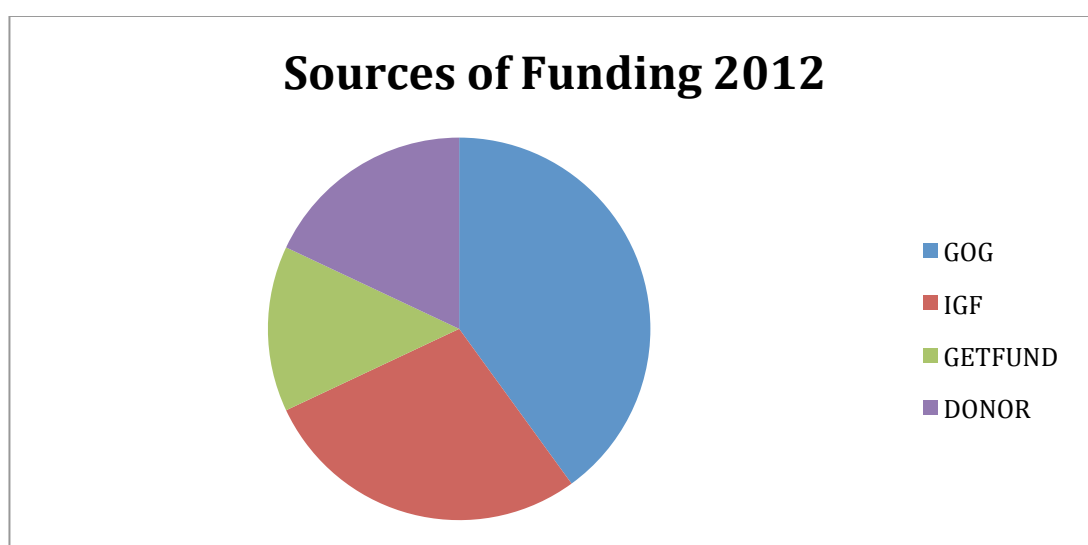
Limited funding

To say that universities in Africa have limited funding is to state the obvious. They are ‘chronically underfunded’ (Task Force of Higher Education, 2000). Teferra and Altbach (2004) have indicated that the total yearly budget for all African higher educational institutions is far less than endowments of some of the top universities in the United States. Again, the budget of individual universities in many developed countries is more than the entire national budgets allocated to higher educational institutions in many African countries.

Funding is the main challenge which every respondent in my study mentioned as obstructing their abilities to implement effective changes. The limited funding is mentioned in all the strategic plans of the universities.

Government is the main funder of the universities. In 2011, it contributed about 58% of the tertiary education sector²⁴ funding, while in 2012 it contributed about 40%. The universities also obtain funding from international bodies such as Nuffic,²⁵ the Carnegie foundation and other collaborative partners. Figure 1 shows sources of funding for the year 2012. Next to government subvention is Internally Generated Funds (IGF) which was 28%. Donor funding comprised 28% while the GETFund comprised 14%.

Figure 1: Sources of funding for tertiary education, Ghana (2012)



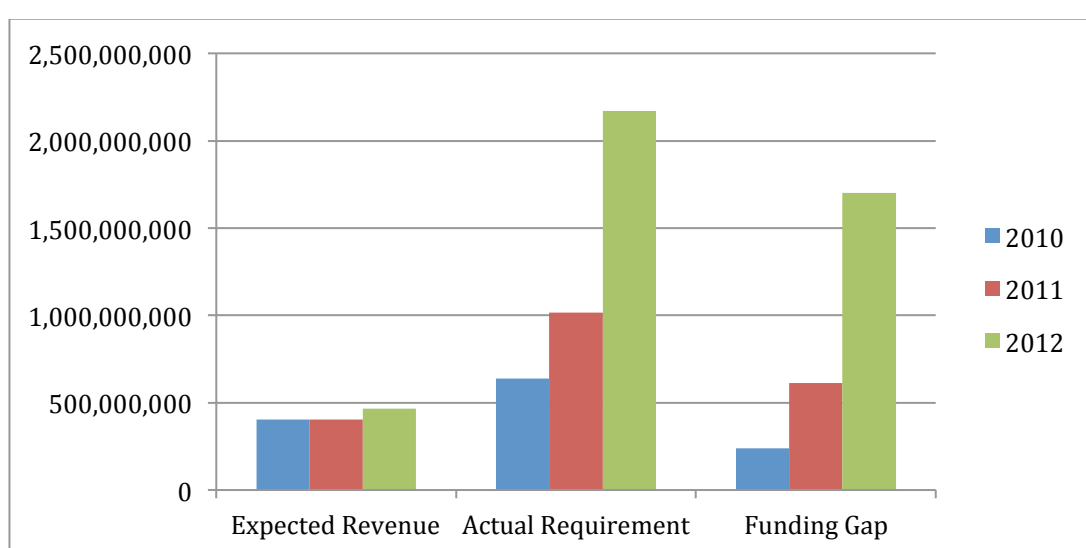
Source of data: National Council for Tertiary Education (NCTE), 2012 budget

²⁴ It should be noted that tertiary education embraces all post-secondary education institutions that offer training leading to the award of a diploma or degree (White paper on the report of the education reform review committee, 2002).

²⁵ Nuffic is the Netherlands organisation for international cooperation in higher education. It is an independent, non-profit organisation based in The Hague, the Netherlands. It supports internationalisation in higher education, research and professional education in the Netherlands and abroad, and helps improve access to higher education worldwide.

The Government subvention, which is the major source of funding, is considered woefully inadequate by the universities. The gap between the expected funding and the required funding keeps expanding (NCTE, 2012). The inadequacy of government funding has made the universities to rely more on Internally Generated Funds. Figures 2 and 3 show the expected revenue, actual requirement and funding gap of tertiary institutions in Ghana between 2010 and 2013, and the trend of IGF over the years, respectively.

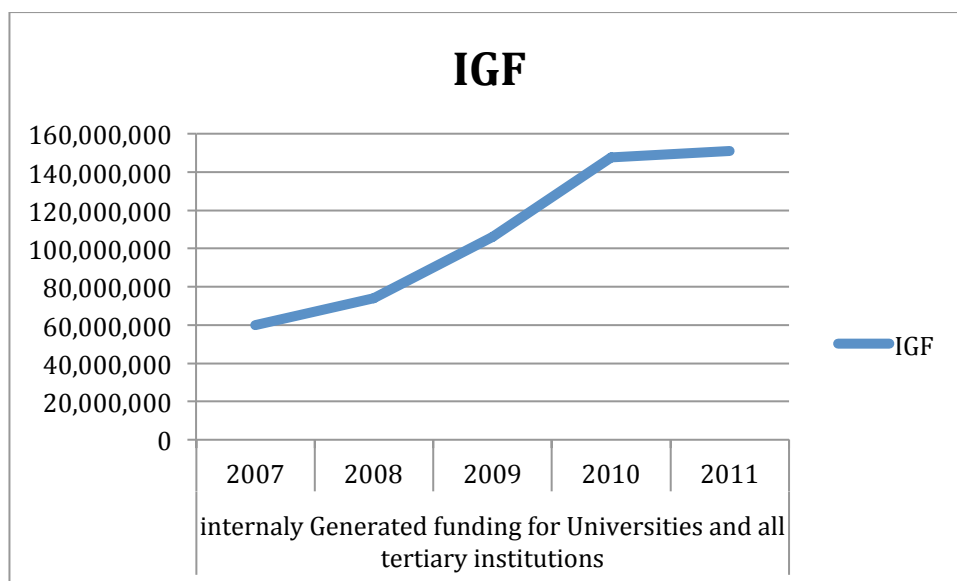
Figure 2: Expected revenue, Actual requirement and funding gap of tertiary institutions in Ghana 2010-2013



Source: National Council for Tertiary Education (NCTE), 2012 budget

It could be seen that the funding gap of the tertiary education sector between 2010 and 2012 keeps increasing. In 2012, for instance, the expected revenue was GH¢467 million, while the actual requirement was approximately GH¢ 2.2 billion leaving a funding gap of about GH¢ 1.7 billion representing 79% of the required amount.

Figure 3: Trend of IGF



Source: National Council for Tertiary Education (NCTE), 2012 budget

As indicated earlier, the universities appear to have no alternative than to resort to IGF. It could be seen from figure 3 that IGF has been increasing over the years.

Statistics from the Ministry of Education show that there appears to be a concentration of funding at the basic level of education instead. For instance, in 2006, 2007 and 2008, funding to the basic education sector were 44.4%, 51.3% and 52.0% respectively while those for tertiary education were 22.5%, 23.0% and 21.7% respectively. Put in other words, between 2006-2008 funding for tertiary education reduced from 22.5% to 21.7% and that of basic education increased from 44.4% to 52.0%. Donor funding at the tertiary level is also low compared to basic level of education. In 2007/8, donor expenditure for basic education, for instance, was 73% whilst tertiary education captured 8% (MOE, 2009).

In addition to concentrating on the basic level, the government appears to have more faith in the private sector in enhancing socio-economic growth of the country. At the

national level, the potential contribution the universities can make to economic growth (in terms of revenue earned through tuition from international and local students) does not seem to be emphasised. Various speeches by policy makers seem to focus on the challenges of the universities and the provisions being made for them. None of the state of the nation addresses by the various presidents since 2007, touched on the potential revenues the universities can bring in and thus contribute to economic growth. The governments rather emphasised the importance of the private sector as key partners to the socio economic development of the nation. At the state of the nation's address by President John Atta Mills, he declared:

... A lot of this growth will be provided by the private sector. A vibrant, globally competitive private sector must play a key role in the economic transformation and social development of Ghana... It is the men and women in the private sector that my administration intends to partner, develop and grow, not only for the near term but in the longer term to secure the future and well-being of our people (State of the Nation Address, 2009).

This seeming faith in the private sector more than higher education could also be a contributing factor to the dwindling of government funding to the universities.

However, according to Naidoo, as stated earlier, the dwindling of government support is based on the belief that universities require a relative independence from political, economic and corporate influence to function optimally' (2007: 3). Naidoo argues further that this belief is based on neoliberal ideologies which emphasise market principles and which continually shift government policies away from investing so much on higher education and from emphasising state regulatory policies.

With the emphasis on IGF, a major tension between the university administrators and the Government is whether or not students should pay full tuition and fees. A major constituent of IGF is fees paid by students. Whilst the universities acknowledge that the government cannot provide full funding, they are calling on the government to allow students to bear the full cost of tuition. The government on the other hand refuses to heed to this demand made by the universities. Some respondents perceive the refusal of the government to accept the proposal of the universities as more of a political stance than facing the realities on the ground. As the Academic Director at the University of Mawuta lamented:

I know from country to country the cost of living varies but if you are doing medicine in US and you are paying 37, 000 dollars a year and you come to Ghana and you are paying 400 cedis (\$200.00) a year and the rest of the money is supposed to come from government, what sort of medical doctors are you training? It costs \$37 000 elsewhere and you are paying 400 cedis which is less than 200 dollars a year and you expect to have the same quality? It means you are deceiving yourself. Like I said, it depends on the standard of living, it varies from country to country but if you are talking about standards what sort of standards do you want to set?

Concerning the above statement of the Academic Director at the University of Mawuta, though it could be argued that the medical schools in Ghana receive some subventions from the government which should be added to the \$200, the total amount spent per student is so small that the quality of medical school training in Ghana would be much less than that in the U.S. A professor of Agriculture at the University of Mawuta also stated:

I think we have not put enough pressure on the politicians to realise that it is impossible for them to support all the universities fully and satisfactorily and that

they ought to realise that sharing the cost of tertiary education is the future. Our constitution says that tertiary education must be progressively free. That is what is in the constitution. As for me as far as I am concerned, it is the most retrogressive statement to be put in the constitution. Why do I say this? When you are doing very well, you should be enabled to pay fees for your wards. ...the society must be made to develop to the point where the people will be willing and able to finance the education of their children at the university...Let me say that tertiary education should be progressively full cost recovery. That is what we should be aiming at, because if everybody is capable of paying those fees, we won't complain. But if you say progressively free you are saying that we should be working towards having free education for all. It is not possible. It is just not possible.

This statement also shows the extent to which the limited money spent on tertiary education impacts on the quality of education provided. They equally emphasise how deeply some respondents think students should bear the full cost of the universities. Interestingly, all respondents who emphasised the need for students to pay fees are from the University of Mawuta. This could probably be due to their desire to really ensure improved infrastructure. This inability to let students pay full fees is actually stated as an institutional weakness in the strategic plan of the University.

Limited infrastructure

Many experts (for example, Altbach, 2004; Altbach and Balan, 2007; Altbach and Salmi, 2011) have emphasised the importance of infrastructure in a university perceived to be world class. In spite of the efforts to improve infrastructure in the universities in the study, the challenges are still persisting. The limited infrastructure has been emphasised in the strategic plans of the universities.

At the University of Ndebang, students complained about how they have to write quizzes and class tests at dawn in order to have enough classrooms to accommodate all the students. In some cases, students have to stand the whole time during class test and quizzes. Below I give responses of some students at the University of Ojo which has the least infrastructural development.

Classrooms are inadequate. Most of the time, when you come for a lecture late you will stand the whole day. We have serious problems with infrastructure. We are all in the final year; we want to have access to the internet to do our assignment and we can't get it (Student of Agriculture, University of Ojo).

There are many people; there is no good writing board. When the lecturer is talking you can't hear him. Yesterday, at the lecture we attended, the board was being supported by blocks on a table (Economics student, University of Ojo)

The lecture board is not even visible because you are far from the board and because there are too many people. So after lectures you see those people [who sat at the front of the class] and they can help you out. Whatever they give you, you take it, correct or wrong to write exams with it (Economics student, University of Ojo)

And there are times you don't have writing boards and some classes never had public address (PA) systems. There are times you can't use the PA systems because there are two classes in one room, one facing the left, and the other facing the right. Level 400 students and level 100 students, the level 400 doing social political... (()) and level 100 doing principles of education. So using the PA system will disturb each other. You talk with your people in an undertone as if you are talking hush hush with your children. (Student, University of Ojo).

Our lecture rooms do not have air conditions and the rooms are hot. When you are writing exams [quizzes, class tests], no chairs, the weather will be whipping you and the exams will be whipping you. In the... campus they will be writing exams under trees (Agric student, university of Ojo).

These statements from the University of Ojo show the extent of infrastructural inadequacy at the University and its impact on the students. Students who complained less were those from the University of Mawuta. This is not to say that the University does not have infrastructural challenges. The international African students interviewed complained of limited infrastructure. This was actually put in the context of the fees they pay. According to them, the fees they pay demand that they have the best of infrastructure.

Generally, as a result of the limited infrastructure, the curriculum may omit certain courses or some courses may be treated superficially. Students for instance are taught ICT, without access to computers. For those in the sciences, they may not be exposed to needed laboratory work. In the end what they learn becomes meaningless and inapplicable in their careers. The Director of TTFPP who is also an academic at the Department of Agriculture stated this fact when he said:

Today as I am talking I have been in this institution for the past 10 years, I have taken students through certain science courses without being able to administer practicals to them. So during exams the person is struggling to be familiar with the equipment and the time is over and s/he is out. Such a person will go out with no confidence. He goes out with a degree but no confidence.

A discussion with a director at the Association of Ghana Industries (AGI) revealed that the greatest challenge they face is the employment of graduates with limited practical experience. She emphasised that many of the graduates employed do not have the requisite

practical experience their employers require. This confirms almost all the respondents' view regarding inadequate practicals in the curriculum.

Limited Research capacity and publication

Historically, research has been central to universities worldwide. In the 21st century however, the crucial importance of research in higher education has become phenomenal (Altbach and Balan, 2007; Altbach and Salmi, 2011; Mok and Cheung, 2011). The number of researches produced by a university enhances its prestige and world recognition. Equally, the number of researches by an individual academic enhances his/her prestige and promotion (Burke and Jackson, 2007). In the Times Higher Education world university rankings 2013/14, research and citations score thirty percent each out of the 100 marks. These performance indicators show how much emphasis is put on research.

Sawyerr (2004) has indicated that challenges in African universities including limited funding, heavy teaching load and unsupportive environment prevent faculty from engaging in active research. This limits the efforts of the universities to contribute effectively to knowledge, which is a major expectation in the present era where knowledge creation and application are critical, nationally and internationally. As Teferra and Altbach (2004) have indicated, many of the universities in Africa practically do not allocate funds for research. In Ghana, as indicated by Effah and Senadza (2008), NCTE, the supervisory body which oversees the funding of tertiary educational institutions, has been unable to define or establish norms for research funding in tertiary institutions. Every year academics are given \$1,500.00 as research allowance and less than \$500.00 as book allowance. This is perceived by respondents as very inadequate.

According to Manu *et. al.* (2007), with the limited funding for research, at the institutional level, many of the universities allocate funding for conference travel rather than funding actual research projects.

Many respondents especially in the departments of Agriculture discussed how limited funding and infrastructure including lack of certain equipment, chemicals, water and electricity affect their ability to do research in the universities. The limited funding and unfavourable environmental conditions have increased academics' dependence on international donors. An academic of Agriculture and Head of the TTFPP at the University of Ojo stated the following:

So far there are several, several, several projects going on in our African universities ... that are not initiated by us but by donors and you end up doing what donors want to do...you end up doing what donors want to do and not what you think it is your problem, but then it is what you think will give you money. If you are lucky enough and fortunate enough you may be able to link that donor fund to your own programmes. But that is not easy.

This statement portrays the extent to which research facilities at the universities are donor funded, and the extent to which they have to bid for donor finance. In many cases, these research agendas do not support the institutional and national goals (Sawyer, 2004). They are embarked on for individual promotion and prestige. One Head of Department indicated that the limited research funding does not enhance research on a large scale that will yield any findings applicable to the needs of the nation when he said:

Yes it is not the research which is lacking but the funding... We do research, but we are not able to do very rigorous research. For example, you think about the Ghanaian situation and you want to do research about it. You are forced by your limited resources to do research in this city when Ghana is so diverse. So it will take a lot of time to say we are covering Ghana. If funding were available it will be possible for us. Within one year, we can study this problem in the whole 10 regions and put these together so we can have a national understanding of the phenomenon

rather than having a local understanding ... (Head of Department, University of Ndebang).

The limited environment for research and the need for academics to do research especially for promotion and prestige in the universities have encouraged individualism. Many academics do not want their colleagues to be involved in their research agendas and activities. As the Director of TTFPP lamented, 'there is individualism. Individualism is too high. The group cohesion is not there. Everybody for himself and God for us all, even among the intelligentsia it is very high...'

The individualistic approach to research in many African higher educational institutions, has been attested to by Sawyerr (2004). According to him, in many cases, the individual- based research and donor-supported research, are limited in building institutional capacity since, as already indicated, the topics may be determined by donors and not the local university. The emphasis of individualism is also linked to the dominance of neoliberalism. According to Harvey, neoliberalism attacks 'all forms of social solidarity, and rather promotes 'individualism, private property...personal responsibility...' (Harvey, 2005: 23). This is similar to findings of studies by Gacel-Avacia, who looked at internationalisation in Latin America. She indicated that:

International activities and programs respond primarily to offers made by international organizations and generally stem from individual initiatives, making them lack direction and remain detached from the priorities of institutional development (2007: 405).

As another indication of the challenges of infrastructure, even when some of the universities are given certain equipment by donors, they are unable to get the necessary utilities to use them. The Director of the TTFPP elaborated these challenges when he said:

By the grace of the... [foreign] government, we have a lab which is not fully functioning...like you have a car without tyres or you have a car without fuel. Those are some of the things with our labs that make them white elephants sometimes. In running the equipment, we needed electricity and for a long time, the place was not even wired. And we needed water. For a long time there was no running water. And in my department which is bio technology, we deal with very, very, sensitive bio molecules. If you have to store a certain molecule over a certain period, it must be that... If it is supposed to stay at minus 20 degrees centigrade throughout and it comes to minus 5 then that thing is spoilt. If you are using ice cubes and the next day there is light off the whole day, the ice cube melts. If you have to use carbon dioxide and you have to come to Kumasi and the manufacturer there says he hasn't got etc... So you see, those of us dealing with very sensitive researches which our department was set up for, can't do it.

This statement emphasises the challenging conditions in which the universities find themselves. In September 2011, while in the field in one of the universities, electricity was off for four days. Almost all activities in the University came to a standstill, as the University did not have enough standby generating plant to replace the electricity supply from the national grid. It is important to say that the infrastructural challenges of the universities vary from university to university. Whilst the University of Mawuta has the highest infrastructural development, the University of Ojo has the least.

Challenges to indigenous knowledge systems

Previous chapters have discussed the difficulty for the universities to emphasise IKS. A major challenge is attracting funding. The difficulty of Ghanaian researchers acquiring funding for indigenous knowledge systems (IKS) is not limited to international sources. Respondents emphasised limited support from the government. According to respondents, there is emphasis on science and technology to the exclusion of indigenous knowledge systems. A Head of Department at the University of Ojo said:

The funding is a problem. Particularly government funding for indigenous knowledge systems in the university is a big problem. ... It is a challenge, a huge challenge to convince government to understand that yes, this indigenous knowledge needs to be funded...They are more interested in the sciences, ok, talking about science, talking about medicine, or talking about...yes they will go in there, but we are talking about indigenous knowledge, something related to us, that is the humanities, they think it is not necessary. That is a huge problem.

The seeming disinterest in IKS is not limited to the government alone but some pressure groups such as journalists.

A professor at the Institute of African studies explained that some journalists in Ghana questioned him when the building of the Institute was being put up. The journalists asked why such an imposing building was being put up for African studies. It could have been put up for computer studies, they said. As the Professor narrated:

There has also been questions asked about the relevance of African studies...people, especially people outside who do not understand what is happening have asked whether it is relevant, and I myself have been called upon to

respond to some of these issues. I was once called upon to respond to a journalist's query about the relevance of African studies, whether we still need it ...or why is it that such a big edifice has been put up to house African studies, why is it that we didn't invest all this money in computer studies? So of course they didn't know this money did not come from Ghana government. The money to put up this structure was not from the Ghana government.

According to Sawyerr, the limited emphasis on Indigenous knowledge system is the result of market forces directing resources away from uneconomic activities such as local production of modern knowledge.

As the typical African economy has become more outward looking, its leading edges have locked more firmly into external knowledge sources: local producers relying on foreign-based parent companies for research, the use of finished inputs in local manufacturing and agriculture, the wholesale importation of finished consumer goods, and the dependence of government and public institutions on foreign expertise and experts in preference to local sources. Under such conditions, local knowledge generation becomes increasingly uneconomic, and market forces direct resources away from support for the local production of modern knowledge (2004: 219).

In addition to the importance of the market forces determining the demand for IKS, respondents emphasised the need for scientific proof of IKS. For instance, almost all respondents indicated the need for scientific analysis in order to use indigenous knowledge systems acquired by the students during their engagements on the ground with the local communities. This was especially so with respondents in the agriculture department.

However, some respondents emphasised that IKS equally involves a lot of sciences. The former Vice-Chancellor of the University of Ndebang for instance stated that:

There are a lot of sciences in the kind of thinking that traditional system has. The pertinent question therefore is how can you tap into the Indigenous Knowledge System to support development on our continent, to support development in our nation (former Vice chancellor, the University of Ndebang).

Another challenge for indigenous knowledge systems is the limited commitment from the intelligentsia. Many academics do not wish to promote IKS because as Fanon indicates, they are 'seeped [with] colonialism and all its modes of thoughts' (2004: 9). Many of these academics, in their educational experiences at school and sometimes at home have been socialised into colonial negative representations of Africa and its knowledge systems.

During the lecture on the 65th Internationalisation of the University of Mawuta, the Vice Chancellor emphasised the importance of being like big universities in the North, particularly Harvard. Of all the strategies, the Vice Chancellor did not mention the need to enhance IKS. Of all the students, academics and non-academics, and other invited guests, it was a non-African who expressed her displeasure about the lack of emphasis on African studies and indigenous knowledge systems in the strategies of internationalisation. Her concern was then supported by another academic, and others joined to emphasise the importance of IKS in the curriculum and strategies of the University.

The limited funding limits the ability of researchers to research on local products so as to be able to improve and enhance their usage or develop further knowledge on them. The Director of the TTFPP pointed to this fact when he said:

I am interested in investigating most of our traditional fruits, dawadawa, atadwe etc. I am in yam production here, what are the best and fastest ways to cultivate yam? These require certain equipment. Those equipment are from foreign countries, they are high tech, and the university has no money to buy them so they ask me to write a proposal so that a donor may give me funding to do it. Now there

is no donor there who is interested in our yams or dawadawa. The average Ghanaian woman who is interested in dawadawa has no money to give me to do research. So now I am compelled to look for another project, which somebody there is interested in, and do it the way he likes and hopefully the person will give me equipment. And now when I use the equipment and the donors leave I will also learn how to use it in my own research, that is, if by that time the maintenance cost and the chemicals required are not above my resources. So the African governments must help the African scientist or African learning systems to be able to do original research that is not tied to the aprons of any external developer.

Such conditions affect the confidence level of academics and their ability to develop indigenous knowledge systems, values and products. It could be that these academics, for various concerns including the limited emphasis on IKS, have concluded, without exploring, that external funds will not be made readily available to promote indigenous research. But they could also be right, that funding agencies are not really interested in indigenous knowledge systems. There are times some of the external fundings could be committed to developing the IKS but the question is the percentage of money, which is committed to it. For example, to what extent will the external agencies fund projects to improve African languages?

As the Dean of the Social Sciences Department of the University of Ndebang maintained, the biggest challenge has to do with the way the international economic system and politics are ordered: the poor South with the rich North. He explained that:

The whole global power system is such that it is difficult for you to get support to do these cultural integrations [in the curriculum] because the support will come only to support Economics, Economics as they know it. And so the Economics department will have support from the ... at the African and Economic 'blablabla'

in Nairobi and they are training them in the same Western Economics. Even if we in the system here try to see how we can integrate indigenous economics to the economics status quo, nobody will support you. So the power.... itself is against you, in terms of this consideration. At any rate, the forces of globalisation want to ensure that everybody thinks, acts and lives the same way. Like McDonald, it tastes the same throughout the world, wherever it is made, so there is now the commodification of everything, and they must be standardised throughout, so everything must be the same standard and we ourselves are also being trained and moulded to become like them.

The statement of the Dean again indicates how difficult it is for academics in many African universities to contribute effectively to research. Even where the academics are able to undertake research, there are problems with publishing.

Many of the academics lamented on their inability to publish books. The printing presses of the universities do not function mainly due to limited funding to support them. There are few local publishers and it is difficult to obtain a contract with a publisher. One respondent explained that to publish a book for instance, would cost about 12,000 Ghana Cedis (US\$ 6,000.00) which is about four months salary of many academics. This challenge also limits their ability to attain the reputation associated with research. This is what a respondent who is a professor in the African studies department had to say:

But you see, the problem is that like everything we talk about money. Oxford is what it is because of its wealth. We had a printing press for all the three established universities but it collapsed because it depended on the government. ...It's not just me so sometimes when people abroad, academics abroad, like some of our colleagues who are there begin to make very unflattering remarks about us, they say oh but they are just there they are not doing enough, you see, they don't

understand. Many of us if we were there we would produce thousands of books....I published a book, you know a very good book, it is selling for about 47 dollars, and I myself cannot buy it, so if you can't buy it yourself, how do you expect Ghanaians to buy that?...As I said, I had a book there [the University printing press], they never published it. Eventually I had to get it published elsewhere... (Professor, Academic, University of Mawuta).

This statement shows the depriving conditions of the academics in terms of publication. Many researchers (Effah, 2003; Teferra and Altbach, 2004) have attested to the challenges of publishing in African universities. According to Teferra and Altbach 'the local publishing infrastructure has traditionally been weak and, generally, unreliable' (2004: 39). Their inability to publish research, forces them to rely on Western publishers. Their reliance on Western publishers, they argue, also limits their ability to challenge Western hegemony. An academic at the University of Mawuta had this to say:

At first we had problems with publishing books etc. right, because we don't even have the outlets for publishing. So most often the African values are ... But do you question Western knowledge and then tell them to publish your work? It doesn't work that way. If you want to challenge them then you must have the outlet to challenge them.

Once again, the power relations between the North and South divide is revealed in this statement. Without the needed funding and infrastructure, it is difficult to challenge the hegemony of the West. What makes the challenges of publishing in these institutions more precarious is the expectation of academics to publish in international papers. One young academic in the Department of African Studies at the University of Ndebang explained he has been cautioned by his mentor not to publish in any local journal.

Teferra and Altbach in expressing their concern said:

It is stark contradiction that African academics are expected to publish their work in an academic context that does not even provide them with access to the journals, databases, and other publications that are vital in keeping abreast of international developments in science and scholarship (2004: 39).

The challenges of insufficient government funding and infrastructure, and inadequate research are made more precarious by the increasing interest in higher education by the populace, precipitated by government policies on enhancing access and participation in higher education. Over the years, various policies and administrative structures have been initiated both at the national and institutional levels to enhance access and participation in higher education. Various studies have emphasised the positive impact of these policies (Manu *et. al.*, 2007; MOE 2009, 2005; Morley, *et. al.*, 2010, 2007) on student enrolment in the universities. However, the high enrolment has also created many problems for teaching and learning (Budget for National Council for Tertiary Education 2011, 2012). In spite of the drastic reduction of enrolment in the universities, as explained in chapter seven, respondents indicated there was still much to be done. The Head of Economics Department at the University of Ndebang has this to say about the high rate of enrolments:

The biggest challenge for this University is the number of students. You teach and teach and you don't have time to do anything than teaching and marking. It is even sometimes very difficult to do research, to publish and get promotion, let alone looking at what someone is doing somewhere and to be able to incorporate in yours. It is so difficult. Currently, level 100 economics students were forced to have six different lecturers to teach but two of the classes have close to five hundred (500) students. If we have the opportunity, we should put them into about

20 groups. This means you need 120 lecturers for level 100 alone. We don't have time to think of anything else apart from teaching and marking. (Head of Department, University of Ndebang).

An Academic of Economics at the University of Mawuta also described the conditions of academic work in the Department as follows:

If you add the city campus, then the total number of students at level 400, in a particular course could be 400. For level 300 you could even have a little more than 400. Even then, if you add the distance-learning programme then you can easily get more. You can find yourself teaching on the main campus, teaching at the City campus and also teaching at the distance-learning programme because they all get the same degree from the university. It is a key challenge because it affects research, it affects quality of teaching or the quality of the knowledge that the students get because it then becomes difficult to assess them well.

He continued to explain their conditions as follows:

We have started exams. Once you get your scripts you may find yourself in a situation where, and I quite often find myself in that situation, the second semester starts and I haven't finished marking my scripts. So there, I may be expected to teach and at the same time mark my scripts. So you can imagine, school reopens and you haven't finished marking your scripts. It will be difficult giving your full attention to teaching. And you are supposed to do research...you know, so it is challenging.

These statements indicate the extent to which the high number of students impact on infrastructure, teaching and research. The limited funding and its subsequent challenges

create many tensions between the government and the universities, and between students and administrators. These tensions result in both academics and non-academics embarking on many strike actions and with students embarking on many demonstrations.

Disruptions of the academic calendar

The strikes and demonstrations create many disruptions in the academic calendar of the universities. Between the time of my data collection (June, 2011) to present, there have been about ten strike actions by both academic and non-academic staff in the universities. Reasons for the strike actions range from unpaid book and research allowances to unpaid salary increments. Demonstrations by students are even more numerous. On my very first day at the University of Mawuta campus for this study, I was greeted with students demonstrating against a new policy that disallowed unofficial sharing of rooms by students (perching). These strikes and demonstrations affect the international positioning of the universities. The former Vice Chancellor at the University of Ndebang had this to say:

A university, which disrupts its calendar regularly, does not attract international students at all. This erodes international confidence. When your academic calendar is stable, your students are serious, your lecturers have time to devote themselves to research. It raises the international standard of your institution (A former Vice Chancellor, University of Ndebang).

As in September 2013, all workers in the universities had been on strike for almost two months. Apart from the real strike actions, the negative effects of threats of strike actions should not be underestimated.

Respondents indicated that due to limited funding, very few students are able to embark on exchange programmes. All students interviewed showed interest to travel to countries abroad, especially to the United States and the UK but are limited in their ability

to travel. At the College of Agriculture of the University of Mawuta, the data suggest that students who go on exchange programmes within a year may not exceed two. When the local students were asked to what extent internationalisation was emphasised, one student said:

I believe little is done, ...I believe very little is done on campus because some of us, if you are a math student, I don't think you get into contact with any foreign or international perspective. You get that privilege when you pursue courses like political science ...or language. If you are studying a language you have a one year exchange programme that enables you to go and learn other people's language and stuff.

In many cases international students, due to lack of facilities, may not stay on campus, they stay at international or private hostels. At the University of Ojo, non-African international students stay on different floors of the student hostels. For these reasons, interaction with local students is limited. The creation of different residence for international and non-international students, I would argue enhances the 'otherness', in terms of either a local or international student.

Not all share the perception that the universities have limited funding. Three respondents from the universities and an administrator of the National Council for Tertiary Education (NCTE), one of the supervisory bodies in charge of monetary activities in the universities, have different views. They argued it is also about the setting of priorities. The administrator said:

They have been funded better now than ten years ago. Yes, I don't think there are problems. The institutions like creating problems...now they are more funded than

any other period in our lives. Because now when every student comes he pays something.

This statement shows the extent to which some respondents believe funding should not, presently, be a major challenge to the universities. This is because as indicated by the statement, the institutions are funded better and students also pay fees unlike previous years when students paid no fees.

Stigmatisation of African Universities

The limited infrastructure and facilities, coupled with mis/representations of colonial legacies has created a stigma on the universities, which makes it difficult for the universities to attract international students. The difficulty in attracting foreign students deprives the local students of the diversity and dynamism international students bring on campuses.

It also appears that few scholarships are made available to students from Europe and North America to have full university programmes in Africa, especially the West African sub-region. Writers, including Knight and Altbach (2007) and Brock-Utne (n.d.), have affirmed that in spite of all the assumed flow of students and staff across continents and nations, few students from North America, Europe and the developed Eastern countries choose to pursue their university studies in Africa.

The three universities attract mainly two types of international students: international students who come to do four year full time programmes and those who come to do short programmes normally for one or two semesters. The majority of full time international students are from neighbouring African countries, especially from Nigeria, whilst students who come for short courses are mainly from North America and Europe. According to Effah and Senadza (2008), it is always difficult to get statistics on international students in the universities. Statistics derived from the website of the

University of Mawuta indicates that in the 2012/13 academic year, out of a total intake of over 15,000 students, about 1,000 were international students. Out of this number only 190 students were from North America and Europe. Only two students out of this number did 2 semesters. All the others did only one semester and only 25 were from Europe. About 160 were from USA. The statistics indicate that even the few students who come are mainly interested in Africa related subjects (University website).

Financially, because the three universities are not able to attract many students, they do not benefit so much as Universities in North America, U.K and Europe. The Policy Report on Strategies and Trends in the Internationalisation of U.K. Universities (2011) indicates that international students contribute to the financial wellbeing of universities and to the UK economy. It indicates that the UK generated approximately £5.3 billion in 2008 through both tuition fee income and the additional spending of international students. By comparison, this revenue, according to the policy 'is greater than the export sales of alcoholic drinks, the cultural and media industries and others, making higher education one of the UK's most successful export industries' (Ibid: 7). In the end, it could be argued that with the capitalist approach in which as Larsson, *et. al.* (2005: 61) acknowledged, 'higher education is seen as a growing service industry which must export product', higher education has become one of the many ways in which globalisation of capital has replaced colonisation to generate much wealth for many European countries. According to Fanon:

Unlike colonial times when colonial masters occupied land, 'today the national struggle of the colonized is part and parcel of an entirely new situation. Capitalism, in its expansionist phase, regarded the colonies as a source of raw materials which once processed could be unloaded on the European market. After a phase of capital accumulation, capitalism has now modified its notion of profitability. The colonies have become a market. The colonial population is a consumer market'... (Fanon, 2004: 26)

This statement emphasises the extent to which marketisation of higher education could be situated in the context of colonialism and the exploitation of ex-colonial countries.

To address some of these challenges, the universities have diversified their funding sources. In addition to recruitment of international students, all the universities are in various business ventures including consultancy services and hospitality services. At the University of Ndebang, for example, almost every faculty or school has a guest house and a canteen. During an interview at the University, one administrator explained that without these businesses, the University would have collapsed. These business adventures are similar to the observations of Harris about prevailing global conditions, “Universities are expected to run themselves as businesses and to manage the prevailing economic climate rather than rely on the state...” (2011: 22). The priority of universities and individuals is how to attract funds (Currie, *et. al.*, 2002). Torres in his concern over the dominance of neoliberalism in universities has observed that, ‘issues of academic sociability and the sense of a university’s social mission are being eroded by the neoliberal ideology and agenda’ (Torres, 2009: 20).

With all the challenges examined, I would argue it is difficult for the universities to contribute immensely to the dominant Western and neoliberal internationalisation discourse. It is equally difficult for the universities to challenge and offer a different and distinctive ‘internationalisation’ with a different understanding and vision. Nevertheless, the universities, I argue, have some opportunities which they could explore.

University Strengths

The strengths of the universities, suggested by the data, include the ability of their graduates to work or have further studies in various places in the world, relative social and

political stability of the country, and confidence of foreigners in the Ghanaian higher educational system.

Almost all respondents talked about the ability of the graduates from the universities to have further education or work abroad as a strength of the universities. Many respondents indicated that the strength of the universities and their graduates have been enhanced by the many programmes that have been introduced in the various institutions recently. These programme diversifications particularly at the Universities of Mawuta and Ndebang, respondents indicated, have also enhanced the universities' attractiveness to international students, both within and outside Africa.

Seven out of the ten international students interviewed indicated the trust in Ghana's political stability as a major reason for their choice of Ghana as a country in which to study. With the relative socio-economic and political stability in Ghana, the universities have become popular places of choice for prospective students in especially the West African sub-region and Nigeria in particular. Ghana has never witnessed any civil or political war as experienced by many countries in the African continent. The country is relatively safe in terms of crime and financial stability. A BBC report confirmed that Ghana is one of the more stable nations in the region, with a good record of power changing hands peacefully. It is one of the continent's fastest growing economies, and newest oil producer (BBC news, Africa, 2013). Some of the students also emphasised the relative infrastructural development at the national and institutional levels as a reason to pursue a programme in Ghana.

All the international students interviewed indicated that they value university education in Ghana. One student indicated that in Nigeria, for example, there are three sets of universities: the Federal, the state and the private universities. According to her, it is very difficult to get admission into the Federal universities, which are government-owned

and therefore have better resources and are more prestigious than the state and private universities. Therefore, instead of going to some of these less resourced and less prestigious universities in Nigeria, some of the universities in Ghana offer better opportunities for students who want a university education. According to another student, the universities in Ghana are also more stable in terms of strikes and demonstrations compared to institutions in Nigeria. These responses confirm what Effah and Senadza (2008) said that international students from the Sub-region, especially from Nigeria perceive the universities in Ghana as providing internationally standard education comparable to Europe and the US but at a cheaper cost.

Some students from Nigeria also mentioned that social amenities, including electricity comparatively are more stable. With this trust in the Ghanaian higher educational institutions, the University of Mawuta appears to enjoy the highest prestige. It is seen as a premier university with very high standards of education. A major problem of many of the international African students is their perception that the non-African international students are given special differential treatment. In one of the interviews, when I asked a respondent to tell me about her experiences, she responded (referring to a white lady who was sitting near by) as follows:

Ask them, they will be able to tell you more, you know they treat them differently, you know the white skin. If they have a complaint, they treat them differently, whilst with us, nobody cares (female, Nigerian student).

Such perceptions equally confirm arguments from postcolonial literature about Western superiority (Bhabha, 2008; Fanon, 2008). With many Africans perceiving everything and everyone from the West as superior, it is not unsurprising that Westerners and those from especially the Eastern Asia countries would be given differential treatment.

Some of the African students also complained that the local students perceive them as arrogant and not serious with their academic work. One respondent lamented as follows:

Even in group discussions, when you want to contribute, they don't see you as credible. To them, they know more (female, Nigerian student).

The majority of respondents however perceive their relationship with local students as very cordial.

Another major complaint by all African international students is the fees they pay which they complained as being very high. They pay the same amount as non-African students. A document on the challenges of the International Programme Office (IPO) of the University of Mawuta confirmed the high fees. According to the report, the fees for international graduate students, for instance, are higher than it is in some African countries including South Africa, Botswana, Kenya and Nigeria.

One distinctive and optimistic feature that the research identified, which the universities could explore as their internationalisation flagship is the university-community programmes adopted by the Universities of Ndebang and Ojo. The TTFP programme at the University of Ojo and the Supervised Enterprise Projects (SEPs) at the Department of Agricultural extension of the University of Ndebang provide a unique approach to addressing poverty and engaging with the community. As already indicated in the previous chapter, many universities especially in sub-Saharan Africa have shown significant interest in these programme and they serve as a great opportunity for the universities to position themselves internationally. The Director of the International studies of Ojo University emphasised:

We have something to offer which international students find interesting: both those from outside and in the [African] region...though there are many

programmes in the University, it is the most interesting programme: the ability to expose people to the realities of the rural area and equip them with the skills to live in the community.

The Director explained how many of the international students are very happy with all the local activities including where they sleep and how they travel. Respondents also explained how many students from the universities have been employed in international companies. With regard to the University of Ojo, ironically, this is the university which is least involved in internationalisation.

As indicated in chapter five, under the rationales of Africanisation /IKS, there is a re-emerging interest in Africa and indigenous knowledge systems by international institutions and funding organisations. It was indicated that in recent times, the World Bank would want to have a local content in many of the programs they fund. The many collaborations between the universities in the study and universities abroad, also confirm the re-emerging interest in Africa.

With the promotion and opportunities for intercultural learning in many universities worldwide, some respondents indicated that many students from North America and Europe are attracted to African Studies and culture. They are mostly interested in Africa-related subjects including music and dance, sociology and anthropology. At the school of Agriculture at the University of Mawuta, it was indicated that students and academics from the West are interested in tropical agriculture. Respondents indicated that in some cases, the international students select courses they wish to do from the regular courses available for the particular semester. In some cases however, the local departments or international offices are asked to develop new courses they prefer. A professor from the University of Mawuta said:

Many years ago you will see a few students from America, from Britain or from China...very rare, but these days we have loads and loads of American students coming in every year because they also want to experience Africa.

Apart from the inter-cultural learning, this renewed interest could be attributed to what Sawyerr describes as the 'heightened global appreciation of the significance of knowledge generation and application' (2004: 216). Indigenous knowledge systems could now be explored and researched into to provide alternative knowledge.

Altbach (2004) has indicated that there has also been interest in student flow across borders because industrialised countries have recognised the need to equip their students with a global consciousness and with experience in other countries to enhance their competition in the global economy. In many cases, however, as explained above it is still difficult for African universities to attract international students from the West. The Guardian (2013) cited a report released by the Institute of International Education the number of foreign students at American universities and colleges vis a vis those in other countries. In the 2012-2013 academic year, while there were 820, 000 foreign students in American universities, the number of Americans travelling abroad to do credit university courses were just over 283,000 in the 2011-12 academic year. Certainly, less of these students go to African universities. According to the report, the top destinations for these students are United Kingdom, Italy, Spain, France and China.

The emphasis of internationalisation has also enabled the universities to make varied efforts to improve infrastructure and enhance quality of the curriculum. Student and staff exchange programmes have also exposed students and staff to happenings elsewhere. As indicated in chapter six, collaborations with external universities have benefitted the universities in terms of research and training of PhDs. It has also increased the awareness of indigenous knowledge systems.

Conclusion

I have argued in this chapter that the universities in the study are confronted with a lot of challenges including lack of national policies, limited funding and research, which tend to limit their ability to achieve their desired goals of making meaningful contribution at the international front. Whilst they find it difficult to meet the standards of the dominant neoliberal Western discourse of internationalisation, and what institutions perceived as first class universities, there is a challenge of the universities to offer a different understanding and vision of internationalisation. These challenges have also led to the suppression of indigenous and local knowledge systems. The standards and expectations I argued have equally led many academics to undertake individualised researches, which do not address national needs. Such researches are undertaken for prestige and promotion.

Nevertheless, the internationalisation agenda of the universities has created opportunities including increased presence of international students, student and staff exchange programmes, collaborations with universities both in and outside Africa and the recognition and interest in emphasising indigenous knowledge systems. The relative socio-economic and political stability of the country also serve as opportunity for the universities to attract more international students and staff. I argued that the universities also have opportunities to emphasise the TTFPP which was identified by respondents at the University of Ojo, and the SEP's programme which was emphasised by the Department of Extension Services at the University of Ndebang. Though these opportunities are limited by the challenges, I argue, the universities could explore ways of maximising these opportunities. Recommendations will be provided in the next chapter which is also the concluding chapter.

CHAPTER NINE

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter presents the conclusions and recommendations and is in four sections. The first re-states the objectives of the study and the research questions. The second provides a summary of the findings, the third presents recommendations, and the fourth notes the limitations of the study and recommendations for further studies.

Objectives and research questions of the study

The objectives of the study were to explore the local, national and international socio-economic and political factors that influence the public universities in Ghana. It particularly sought to analyse how Ghanaian public universities conceptualise internationalisation. It explored the internationalisation strategies of the universities, the key actors of these strategies, the impact of the internationalisation process on curriculum and the challenges confronting the universities.

The research questions included: How do Ghanaian public universities conceptualise internationalisation and what are the rationales underlying their internationalisation processes? Do the universities have internationalisation strategies and if so, who are involved? Also, to what extent has internationalisation impacted on the curriculum of the universities and how can internationalisation be redefined and constructed to suit the Ghanaian context? A summary of the findings and recommendations is given below.

Summary of findings

This section summarises respondents' perceptions of internationalisation, their rationales, and the strategies adopted to enhance the internationalisation process, as well as the challenges. Commonalities and differences among the universities were found in relation to their position on internationalisation and from these three models of internationalisation in Ghana are offered.

Perceptions of internationalisation

It emerged from the analyses that respondents in all the universities attach three main meanings to internationalisation: the ability of the universities to be accepted worldwide; the ability of the universities to attract students from the world over; and the ability of the universities to exchange ideas, resources, students and staff. All respondents held the view that internationalisation was important. However, it was indicated that though all three strands of meaning attached to internationalisation were manifested in the three universities, there were differences among the universities in the intensity with which they viewed them. Again, there were differences in the level of importance with which the three institutions attached to internationalisation. These are discussed in the next subsection.

In all the universities, there is the hegemonic view of internationalisation that seems to be embedded in neoliberalism, post-colonialism, and the marginalisation of African knowledge systems, perspectives and values. As argued in chapters 5-8, in many cases, a main concern of the universities is to be accepted by the West.

Rationales of internationalisation

Five rationales of internationalisation were identified in all the universities. These were economic and instrumental rationales, the need for exposure and reputation, the need to be

accepted in the global village, the need for global responsibility, and educational benefits. The economic and instrumental rationales involve a need for income generated through fees paid by international students, the need for global citizenship and employment and the need for other financial benefits from collaborations and other international activities. Here again, the influence of western neoliberal thinking is predominant.

As many writers have argued, (for example, Burke, 2012; Harris, 2008, 2011) the economic rationales are based mainly on neoliberal economic thinking, which sees higher education as a market place where knowledge is bought and sold. In these conditions, as indicated above, African knowledge systems, including Ghanaian knowledge systems, do not have the economic advantage and privilege as Western values.

The strategies

The main strategies for enhancing internationalisation at all the three universities in the study are the development of mission statements and strategic plans, with particular emphasis on marketing and recruiting international students; development of collaborations with universities both in and outside the sub region; benchmarking universities abroad; and the establishment of international offices.

In spite of the efforts of the universities, various challenges limit the efforts of all the universities in the study to contribute meaningfully to the internationalisation process. Such challenges include limited national and institutional policies, limited funding, global inequalities and various economic and political constraints including dominance of market principles.

As indicated in chapter eight, a major challenge identified in the internationalisation process of the Universities is a lack of national policy on internationalisation. Although, in Ghana, the government has policies on immigration, foreign relations, trade and accreditation, there is no national policy regarding the

international policies of the universities. The universities appear to be influenced by the global discourse of internationalisation and also by the Association of African Universities (AAU), which has its mission to enhance the network of the African universities both in the region and outside the region. The next subsection discusses the implications of this challenge.

Implications of lack of a national policy on internationalisation

The limited policy on internationalisation in the universities has many implications for the universities. Many of the universities, as indicated in chapter eight, adopt bottom up and ad hoc approaches to internationalisation which generate many challenges including limited funding for internationalisation purposes, and lack national framework policies on collaborations, research and the curriculum. There are also limited policies on student and staff mobility, which, I argue are essential in the internationalisation process.

Lack of internationalisation policy limits collaborative efforts between the government and the institutions, and also among the universities to adopt strategies to address their marginalisation on the global front. There is a limited synergic effort to identify a common front and also create a niche to make an impact on global knowledge systems.

With the marginalisation of African knowledge systems, a major challenge confronting the universities is the development and promotion of indigenous knowledge systems which would enable the institutions to contribute as equal members in the international front. There is the need, as I argue later in the chapter, for the government and the institutions to collaborate and also prioritise the local knowledge systems and values to penetrate the global arena.

The lack of national policy, I argue, will also worsen tensions between the government, the general public and the universities. This is mainly because the universities, in their efforts to generate more income to undertake strategies to enhance

their competition internationally, will take decisions and strategies, which will not sit well with the government and the general public. The universities will also take decisions that would enhance inequalities in the country.

As explained above, in spite of the commonalties, differences exist among the universities with regard to their perception and position to internationalisation. The next section summarises these differences.

The differences

It could be argued that various factors including location, size, age and infrastructural strength influence particular perceptions and rationales that each institution attaches to internationalisation. With the three universities, the one with the most comparative advantage in terms of size, age, location and strength of staff among other advantages, is more concerned with international student recruitment while the others, with less of these advantages, are more concerned with intercultural learning. The University with the most comparative advantage also perceives internationalisation as most critical to the existence of the university, whilst the other universities are more sceptical about internationalisation.

Again, although all the universities have adopted strategies to position themselves internationally as stated above, the rates at which these strategies have been adopted differ from one university to the other. Again, various factors including location, size, age and infrastructural strength influence the rate of involvement of each of the universities.

Three distinct but not mutually exclusive approaches characterise the efforts of the universities to internationalisation: it is approached as a 'do or die affair'; it is approached with a sense of ambivalence; and it is approached with a sense of efforts at mastership. These I argue could be characterised as models of internationalisation manifested in the universities in Ghana. As I discuss these features I also argue about their implications for the curriculum. It is importance to emphasise that these approaches are not totally

exclusive to particular universities in the study. Aspects of each model are manifested in the other universities.

The University of Mawuta and the ‘the do or die’ approach to internationalisation

The majority of respondents at the University of Mawuta, spearheaded by the Vice Chancellor, perceived internationalisation mainly as the recruitment of international students, and focussed particularly on the economic rationale of internationalisation. At this University, internationalisation is perceived as all-important, and critical to the survival of the University; it is a logic of no alternative, a do or die affair. Subsequently, the university appear to be leading in terms of strategies to position the university internationally. The University of Mawuta has given more emphasis to the marketing and recruitment of international students, has more collaborations, and has focussed more on benchmarking international standards and curriculum-related changes.

This model of internationalisation, I argue, has both positive and negative implications for the curriculum, locally, nationally and internationally. In all the three universities, it was at the University of Mawuta that almost all respondents emphasised there have been many changes to the curriculum in relation to the internationalisation discourse. The changes are both in terms of programmes and quality. The strategies, as discussed in chapter seven, include diversification of programmes, introduction of general courses, improvement in infrastructure, reduction in enrolment, upward change of grading system, and improvement in quality of lecturers. Though these changes may be perceived positively, the ‘do or die’ approach to internationalisation may also impact negatively on indigenous knowledge systems.

The University and the curriculum will also be more susceptible and vulnerable to foreign influences, which will emphasise Western dominance and perpetuation of colonial legacies. Again the dominance of external experts and guidance would deprive the

university of the expertise of the local professors and continue to enhance the inequalities and Western hegemony. The conditions of local academics and professors could reflect Young's (2003) description of the colonial subject as 'the person who is always in the margins, to be the person who never qualifies as the norm, the person who is not authorised to speak (p.1) even in matters relating to their own institution or country.' It would also confirm arguments of colonisation which 'increasingly portrayed the people of the colonized world as inferior, childlike, or feminine, incapable of looking after themselves...and requiring the paternal rule of the West for their own best interest (Ibid, p.2). These conditions could also cause a sense of apathy and detachment of academics who might not agree to the emphasis on international standards and foreign expertise. In the end, these local academics/professors are those who will teach in the lecture room, and their sense of detachment or apathy could result in ineffective teaching and learning.

The University at its inception was positioned to restore the glory and confidence in indigenous knowledge systems through various means including the curriculum. However, today, as the University emphasises foreign expertise, foreign journals, and foreign collaborations, among other Western guided strategies, it may rather stamp in students, staff, and the larger society, the inferiority of anything Ghanaian or African, and thus perpetuate colonial legacies and tendencies.

The universities of Ndebang and its ambivalence towards internationalisation

The majority of respondents at the University of Ndebang and Ojo, on the other hand, emphasised more the ability of the universities to exchange ideas, resources, students and staff. They particularly emphasised the importance of Africanisation of the universities and the promotion of the indigenous knowledge systems as the main flagship of internationalisation.

Respondents in these two universities recognise the importance of internationalisation but many were sceptical. Their attitude towards internationalisation could be linked to Bhabha's concept of ambivalence. Whilst they are repulsive of the dominance of the colonial masters, the West, they are also attracted to the benefits and advantages of a relationship with the West. They are torn between two desires: the desire for their own mastership and the desire to follow the master.

Although the majority of respondents indicated that internationalisation has had a minimal impact on the curriculum, some changes to the curriculum that have occurred in the universities, especially at the University, have been influenced by the internationalisation discourse and these include diversification and changes in programmes and quality related strategies.

As indicated by many postcolonial theorists including Bhabah (1994), with the concept of ambivalence, colonial subjects engage in activities to resist the colonial master. Similarly, many departments in the university have developed ways to enhance indigenous knowledge systems. Although the University is not mandated to engage with the community as it is in the case of Ojo, many of the departments are actively engaging with the local communities. Again many of the departments have been directed by the Deans to emphasise the use of local knowledge systems and values to illustrate foreign theories in the lecture room.

The University of Ndebang, among the three universities in the study, is the only university which offers African studies as a subject for graduation. In all the other universities, students study core courses on African Studies for only the first two semesters as a prerequisite for graduation. Compared to the University of Mawuta, the University of Ndebang has engaged less with foreign experts to bring changes to the curriculum. It is limited in funding to enhance and promote indigenous research and knowledge systems.

The University of Ojo, an approach of mastership to impact on global knowledge systems

The University of Ojo as indicated in chapters two and seven, has a distinctive national mandate to combine academic work with community engagement and, comparatively, it has the poorest infrastructural development. In spite of its setbacks, it seeks to use the community programme as a flagship to penetrate the international arena and impact on global knowledge systems. The position of the University of Ojo is similar to the Agricultural Extension Department at the University of Ndebang, which seeks to use the Supervised Enterprise Project to penetrate the international arena. However, for the past few years the SEP has been limited to only countries in the African Sub region. Though these attempts by the University of Ojo and the Department of Agricultural Extension have been limited by the obvious challenges, such a strategy is important, and I agree with Young's argument that it is important to respond positively and to 'shift the dominant ways in which the relationships between Western and non-Western people and the worlds are viewed.... (2003:2).

The University of Ojo appears to have initiated the least changes in the curriculum in terms of programme content and quality. There has not been much infrastructural development nor changes to the curriculum. The University also lacks the funding to develop indigenous knowledge systems and research. Though it seeks to use the TTFPP approach, it still does not emphasise indigenous knowledge system as a way of addressing changes in the community.

I will conclude this section by arguing that the urgent need of the universities to be accepted, confirms a postcolonial view that contemporary happenings including globalisation, internationalisation and neoliberal ideologies are new names and structures to perpetuate colonial legacies and western domination (for example, Dirlik 1994; Fanon,

2004 Young, 2003). As the universities seek recognition and acceptance internationally, they are 'forced' to adopt western endorsed strategies and policies, and 'forced' to depend on the West. A main reason for such dependence is the acknowledgement of these universities that African and the Ghanaian values and indigenous knowledge systems are not internationally recognised. They are also constrained by various challenges as discussed above. Thus internationalisation, instead of emphasising diversity, equality and inclusiveness, I argue, rather marginalises, discriminates and enhances inequalities in ways that are hegemonic. As in colonial times, Western ideologies reign superior in an era of internationalisation and globalisation.

In the next section, I provide recommendations to enhance the internationalisation process in the universities, with particular reference to the curriculum.

Recommendations

I begin first by arguing that an important need is for a redefinition of internationalisation, which suits the Ghanaian context.

As argued in chapters 5-8, the dominant discourse of internationalisation is driven by a western neoliberal agenda that privileges economic and technological concerns. More debate is required about the purpose of internationalisation and how it might contribute to enhance and enrich the educational exposure of students in Ghana. There is the need to look at what the Ghanaian culture can offer to the global world rather than adapting to a Western model. Universities in Ghana need to contribute as equal partners and not just follow where the tide leads. This can be done through, for example, emphasising the intercultural and international dimensions of internationalisation instead of focussing mainly on the economic aspect. There is the need for what I argue as powerful concepts including Ubuntu to be penetrated in the international arena. As discussed in chapter five, the Ubuntu is an African concept which emphasises the importance of human relationship to one

another. It shows how it means to be a person. According to Battle, it means, ‘a person depends on other persons to be a person’ (Battle 1996: 99). It is a value which as argued in chapter five, is a challenge to westernised internationalisation. It has wider implication not only to Africa but the global higher educational field.

Whilst recognising political and economic constraints which impact negatively on ex-colonial countries, it is important for universities to acknowledge that internationalisation could equally be an antidote to years of inequality and injustice. It depends on how internationalisation is perceived and the subsequent strategies adopted to promote it in the universities. I argue for the institutions to avoid two main dangers: the danger of focusing on the legacies of colonialism and not attending to the current possibilities and the danger of being paralysed by the colonial past. Internationalisation should not be perceived wholly as another way to further submerge Africa in Western ideas. It should not be perceived only as an external demand to which the universities do not have control; it can be reclaimed or redefined in order to create opportunities for the universities to establish their own niche in the international world

The desperate need of the Universities to be accepted, I argue, could worsen the perceived effects of colonialism including economic and psychological dependency on Western countries. The little achievements by theorists, academics and policy makers to encourage some sense of confidence among Africans will be lost, gradually, and eventually, completely. De Wit has argued for a more ‘focused definition’ of internationalisation, if it is ‘to be understood and treated with the importance that it deserves’ (2002: 114). Though De Wit was not referring specifically to the Ghanaian context, I would emphasise the importance of Ghanaian universities in having a definition to fit their context and which will allow the appropriate strategies to be adopted. Based on my research findings, I argue for a definitional framework that builds on the suggestions of Harris (2007) of emphasising culture, inter cultural exchange and recognising the

importance of difference. Such recognition and emphasis of difference should be an integral part of the curriculum.

Building on the definition and suggestions of Knight (2008) and Harris (2008) respectively, I would define internationalisation as a process of interdependence and exchange of culture, knowledge, practices and resources among educational institutions. In the context of globalisation, which I would define as a process of sustained disintegration of national borders aimed at enhancing interconnectivity and interdependence of national states politically, economically, and socially, internationalisation, I argue should enhance difference and mutual dependency.

There is a need for the universities to adopt strategies that are proactive and that promote alternative notions of internationalisation, which could result in meaningful international exchange. Recommendations to enhance the internationalisation process in the universities in Ghana, I argue, are numerous. Key among them are the need for national policies which would also impact on institutional policies, the need for funding, curriculum changes in relation to promoting intercultural exchange and promoting indigenous knowledge systems.

Towards A Comprehensive National Policy on Internationalisation

As indicated by Sawyerr, with the limited resources and challenges vis-a-vis the need to strengthen African universities, there is the need for the ‘fashioning of appropriate policies, and the mobilization of the relevant constituencies and resources...[which] call for national political and policy leadership of the highest order’ (2004: 215). In the Ghanaian context, there is the need for extensive national policy on internationalisation which will give the internationalisation process a meaningful focus. Such a policy would direct the internationalisation processes in the universities, including collaborations, research, fees and immigration. These policies, as discussed later in the chapter should seek to subvert or challenge the dominant neoliberal understanding of internationalisation.

To give a firm direction to a national internationalisation policy, there is equally a need for a comprehensive national policy on higher education. It would be difficult for a national policy of internationalisation to succeed without a comprehensive national policy on higher education. With the focus of the thesis on internationalisation, this section presents ideas for putting together a national internationalisation policy for tertiary educational institutions in Ghana.

Collaboration of the universities and the government

Firstly, there is the need for effective collaboration between the universities and the government. The internationalisation process is so demanding and complex for the universities to deal with it alone. Secondly, the policy of internationalisation which must be formulated and agreed upon by key stakeholders such as the Ministries, the regulatory bodies, the tertiary institutions, industries and national research councils should be nonpartisan. A challenge with the Ghana educational sector as indicated in chapter eight is that various political parties seem to have various agendas for education. Incumbent governments feel less enthused to continue with previous governments' agenda. I suggest the need for the universities to be more critical of government policies and practices. In many cases, the academics in Ghana do not really criticise the government due to many factors including their fear of being 'tagged' as opponents of the government. In terms of internationalisation, it is important that academia critique government policies to make internationalisation policies more meaningful. Such critique however should be made in a non-partisan manner

Funding

A major need for enhancing the internationalisation agenda is funding. Funding from the government would improve facilities of the universities, which in turn would help the universities to attract more international students. Attraction of students could be a major

opportunity for addressing the perceived problem of over-dependence on government funding.

More students and academics should also be supported to have further studies abroad to enhance their intercultural learning and appreciation. As students of Economics at the University of Ndebang said, it is only when academics are exposed internationally that they will be able to integrate international experiences in their teaching. More academics should also be sponsored to have seminars, workshops and conferences. Harris (2008) has indicated that exposing academics internationally should be more than the short periods at conferences and workshops. In the Ghanaian context, I argue, these short exposures could be a major boost to the internationalisation process. Various international funding organisations and schemes as part of their support of professional and educational development should financially support the international exposure of academics and students.

Ranking of the universities

Efforts are being made by the Ministry of Education and the University of Mawuta to introduce ranking systems in the universities. I suggest that the ranking systems should not be based on the parameters used by the Western world. I argue that if the universities emphasise the Western benchmarking, local needs and Indigenous knowledge systems will be suppressed. The parameters should be based on 'fitness for purpose' principle instead of the one-size-fits-all. If the universities go according to world ranking parameters, many universities which are really impacting on the communities would be neglected, and this will exacerbate the inequalities in the country. For instance when using infrastructure and citations, it will be difficult for the University of Ojo to bypass the University of Mawuta. The fault, however, will not be Ojo's. Much attention can be paid to community participation of universities, how they are able to help the disadvantaged groups or how the

universities address particular needs of the communities in which they are situated, and the country in general.

The European University Association (EUA) Commissioned Report in response to the growth in international and national rankings confirmed the ‘short comings, evident biases and flaws’ of the ranking systems (Rauhvargers, 2011: 7). These include one-size-fits-all approach of ranking and the hegemony of the West (Birnbaum, 2007: 71). These rankings ‘enjoy a high level of acceptance among stakeholders and the wider public because of their simplicity and consumer type information’ (European Commission, 2009). I suggest that the Ghanaian ranking system should be based on Sen’s capability theory. Sen in his Capability theory decries the general means by which well-being is measured. According to Sen, what a country considers as a ‘necessity’ should be in the context of the country’s wealth and specific cultural norms. When evaluating well-being, Sen argues, the most important thing is to consider what people are actually able to be and do. In the Ghanaian context, the ranking parameters should be based on the needs and abilities of the Ghanaian community.

Strategic and vision plans

There is a need for a strategic vision in the universities where indigenous values, knowledge and perspectives are emphasised. Presently, almost all the strategies of the universities are based on western standards. The mission statements of the Universities, for instance, as discussed in chapter six, reflect mission statements of universities across the world informed by neoliberal ideologies.

The strategic vision, as far as possible, should involve appropriate capacity building, communications, and collaboration with universities in Ghana, foreign universities, international partners and the Government of Ghana. The universities in Ghana should cooperate and work together to project themselves internationally. There is

the need for synergy of strategies, efforts and programmes. Such collaborations would involve sharing instead of competing; they would also enhance the streamlining of activities to enhance equal participation and sharing of intellectual properties, especially with international collaborative partners.

Internationalisation at home

As indicated in the literature review, Knight (2008) has distinguished between internationalisation at home and internationalisation abroad. Internationalisation at home involves helping students to develop international understanding and intercultural skills without having to travel abroad. Internationalisation abroad involves mobility of staff, students and programmes and activities across borders.

In Ghana, I would recommend internationalisation at home to be strengthened and opportunities should be made for increased interaction of local students with international students to enhance intercultural learning. Such interactions, I believe would also dispel certain wrong perceptions about local and international students, respectively. When international students, especially those from Europe, North America or Asia are accommodated differently or not given the opportunity to integrate, it could enhance the perception of Western domination and inferiority of local students. Even with students from African countries, limited integration could result in unhelpful perceptions between them and local students.

The challenge of accommodating international students differently could be the result of limited infrastructure and ‘Ghanaian hospitality’. In Ghanaian culture, guests are supposed to be given the best treatment. This, informally, is referred to as ‘Ghanaian hospitality’. In both cases of limited infrastructure and Ghanaian hospitality, international students are expected to be accommodated in the best of places. However, efforts should be made to accommodate international students in the traditional halls of residence. In a bid to make international students feel at home, efforts should be made to avoid obvious

differential treatment especially of those from the developed countries. The need for this is very important to prevent local students from interpreting it to mean, ‘ the whites as usual are being given superior treatment’. Such perceptions perpetuate the notion of Western superiority.

Emphasising internationalisation at home equally involves promoting intercultural learning and understanding of various cultures in the country among the local population. In Ghana, I would argue that emphasising internationalisation at home is particularly important to address the tribal tensions that simmer in the background. According to Asante and Gyimah Boadi (2004), though there is ethnic polarisation and internal rivalries within and among ethnic groups, these have not escalated to any violent ethnic conflict because various governments have emphasised ethnic distribution, representativeness and inclusiveness of major ethnic groups. I argue however that such tensions could escalate into ethnic conflicts, especially when in recent years there has been an increase in partisan politics, and when major tribal groups have been linked to various political parties, generating more misconceptions and dislike for particular tribes.

Changes to the curriculum

Though the curriculum may already be international as noted by some of the respondents, there is the need for the universities to introduce programmes that enhance intercultural learning. Harris (2008) has argued for several innovations. She argued that two sets of literature from different traditions could be used to teach a particular module. In support of this, I will say in relation to Ghana, there could be literature based on Western perspectives and another one based on the perspective of Indigenous knowledge systems to teach certain modules or subjects. I argue further that efforts should be made to look at the differences and similarities of what is perceived as Western and what is perceived as indigenous. African philosophers as well as Western philosophers should be identified and

discussed. If there are international students in class, they should be encouraged to give examples from their respective countries.

In support of what Harris has emphasised, I will say that it is important that students are not simply exposed to different ways of thinking but that they are made aware of the need of and importance of the difference itself. Such conditioning of the mind is the first step toward the psychological liberation of their mind from alleged inferiority of Africa and African knowledge systems. There is the need to let them be aware that there are different ways of thoughts and practices.

The recognition and emphasis of culture and difference could also be linked to the Bhabha's (2004) concept of hybridity, which has equally influenced my thoughts. As explained in chapter five, hybridity in most cases, is used to explain a cross-cultural exchange influence (Ibid). It emphasises how both the coloniser or the colonised are influenced by each other and how each could benefit from the other's culture (Ashcroft *et.al.*, 2006). There is the need for the universities to recognise other cultures positively even as they strive to change the discourses that represent Africa in a very negative way. In the process of hybridity, standardisation and homogeneity should not be encouraged. Dirlik has indicated that 'both literary theorists and cultural historians are beginning to recognize cross-culturality to eliminate Western hegemony 'and as the basis on which the post-colonial world can be creatively stabilized' (1994: 337).

And according to Said, 'every domain is linked to every other one, that nothing that goes on in our world has ever been isolated and pure of any outside influence' (2003: xvii). He cautions that whilst the need for difference is emphasised, 'there is the need to avoid 'territorial reductive polarisations' like West/East/North/South' (Ibid). He says, 'rather than the manufactured clash of civilisations, we need to concentrate on the slow working together of cultures that overlap, borrow from each other, and live together in far more

interesting ways than any abridged or inauthentic mode of understanding can allow' (Ibid: xxii).

Though some have expressed concerns about the concept including inequalities in society and 'the consequence hybridity has for particular cultural groups, and when and how particular hybrid formations are progressive or regressive' (Rizvi, *et. al.*, 2006: 254), I would recommend it to be emphasised in the universities. As Rizvi admits, as a theoretical idea, hybridity is indeed a useful antidote to cultural essentialism (Ibid).

Many respondents indicated that they use local examples to explain Western theories and ideas. I would argue, however, that the examples should be on other countries so students will have much sense and grasp on differences in practices and beliefs in different countries. I recommend particularly the use of audio-visual aids, including power point presentations, utilising pictures, videos and music from various cultures. These visual presentations would give vivid examples and show comparisons between what happens in and outside the country. For example, many writers have emphasised the usefulness of using video to teach a foreign language (for example, Canning-Wilson, 2000; Cakir, 2006). According to Canning-Wilson (2000) the use of video to learn a foreign language for instance enhances students' motivation and interest, helps students to understand a foreign context, enhances clarity and provides meaning to an auditory text. It also helps students to apply practically what they learn from a text. Simulations and other classroom teaching aids would also enhance how students appreciate differences in learning.

Creating the niche

In addition to intercultural exchange, an important aspect of internationalisation, I would argue, is for various countries and institutions, in collaboration with the government to identify their strength to penetrate the international arena, and contribute as equal partners. The UK Policy report for instance indicated that overseas institutions are keen to engage

with UK universities because they are widely regarded to hold the leading edge in many areas of research. They are also regarded as highly innovative and as world leaders in curriculum reform and development (2011: 7).

I would say that if the universities, instead of benchmarking universities in the North, are able to create their own niche then, Harvard, and other Universities in the North may also be prepared to benchmark Ghanaian universities in those niche areas. These strengths would also help to attract increased interest from foreign students and institutions. This is not to say that they should not learn from what other universities worldwide are doing, but in creating their own niche, there could be a reciprocity where other universities will benchmark Ghanaian universities. Creating a niche would also ensure that the universities do not become overly dependent on Western societies.

According to Fanon, 'Every human problem cries out to be considered on the basis of time, the ideal being that the present always serves to build the future, (Fanon 2008: xvi). A very important area I would reiterate as the strength of the universities is Indigenous Knowledge Systems. I would argue that if ever there was a time for African IKS to be promoted then it is now – in addition to the emerging interest in intercultural exchange as explained above, there is presently, a heightened interest in the generation and application of knowledge (Sawyer, 2004). As already indicated, with the emerging interest in intercultural learning, there is renewed interest in African studies and IKS. The Vice Chancellor of Mawuta once reminisced how the University at its inception, when it was emphasizing African studies was able to attract a lot of students from all over the world. In promoting IKS, the universities would be 'killing two birds with one stone'. They would derive income while they promote African Indigenous Knowledge Systems.

In relation to promoting the IKS, I would argue for the need of Africanisation to be emphasised. I would define Africanisation of higher education as a process of education

and research that is grounded in African culture, knowledge systems and practices, and which is aimed at impacting world knowledge systems and practices.

There is the saying that it is only when you know where you are coming from, that you will know where you are going. In the context of the present emphasis of international relations and globalisation, there is the need for the concept of Africanisation to be explored, and further developed to provide socio-economic and ethical directions not only in Africa but western societies. It is also important for the concept to be emphasised to mitigate some of the psychological and economic effects of colonisation, to enhance the confidence of Africans as Africans and also, as Kizerbo said, to provide education of Africa and for Africans. The national, local and global, I argue, are mutually dependent, like a three legged table. One cannot stand without the other and each enhances and develops the other.

Use of the community-university approach

The university-community engagements as practiced at the University of Ojo and the Department of Extension Services at the University of Ndebang could be very helpful in the internationalisation process of the universities. Firstly, they could serve as one of the best means of emphasising internationalisation at home and among the best options of developing an individual who understands and can engage in his/her local community and equally understand the global context.

Of all the programmes in the University of Ojo, it is the TTFPP, which is able to attract the majority of international students. At the University of Ndebang the SEPs have also attracted many African countries. This community-university approach may also be exported to other countries, especially in the African region. This could mainly be in the form of technical assistance (i.e. giving expert advice). I also suggest the need to emphasise community engagement in other public universities.

At the University of Ndebang, though the programme is done at various departments, there is no national policy to guide such engagements. It is important that institutional and national policies are developed to guide these community-university engagements. There is also the need for institutional policies to emphasise Africanisation and IKS as integral parts in the community engagement in all the universities. Though it is emphasised in documents that the University of Ojo integrates IKS with scientific knowledge in addressing problems in the communities, as indicated above, the IKS aspect is hardly used. As Crossman (2004) has said, many of the development oriented universities address problems using scientific knowledge systems. These do not enhance the development of the IKS. The IKS aspect of addressing challenges should be emphasised.

A very important need, I argue, is to make this community-university engagement, as far as possible more enjoyable and less stressful for students. Though students are not supposed to lead a life significantly different from the communities they visit, certain things could make their living there less strenuous and risky. For instance, the universities could take care of their transportation for the various times they are supposed to go to the communities. Safety measures including provision of wellington boots, first aid boxes and other amenities could also be provided.

Though there might be limited sponsorship for Indigenous Studies, there is the need for the universities to strive to develop attractive proposals and appeal to both external and internal donors for funding. Previously unexploited sources of funding including foundations, alumni, consulting, sponsorships, donors and direct investment should be tapped into. Funds accrued from the sources should be reserved for the development of IKS to enhance research and publication of studies on these knowledge systems. There is also the need to create industry/public awareness of research findings, courses and extension services.

Addressing the mis/representations

Rizvi *et. al.* describe education as a process in which people are inculcated into hegemonic systems of thoughts (2006: 257). Through processes including methods of teaching, textbooks and theories emphasised, students could be made to accept dominant ideas and beliefs without much effort to challenge them. Educational institutions are equally sites 'where it is possible to resist dominant discursive practices' (Ibid). In Ghana, as in many African countries, it is through the formal systems of education that legacies of colonialism and the contemporary processes of globalisation particularly prevail. A major role of the universities in Ghana, I argue, is to address the challenge of mis/representations of Africa. While present discourses and developments emphasise certain negative representations of Africa, 'it is only through education that it is possible to reveal and resist colonialism's continuing hold on our imagination' (Ibid). Efforts should be made to develop and enhance an unlearning process of African inferiority so stamped in the minds of many African students and the public.

It is equally important for the universities to make efforts to avoid negative representations of Africa themselves through their actions and inactions. According to Rizvi, *et. al.* language is very significant 'in the colonial formation of discursive and cultural practices' (2006: 50). The universities should critically examine the type of discourses, language and methods of teaching in the institutions, which would tend to perpetuate more cultural and psychological domination. What could be perceived as insignificant in influencing students including pictures and video clips used in power points presentations during teaching could have an impact on students. Carnoy, (1999: 13) has said, even children watching television or listening to radio are re-conceptualising their 'world' in terms of the meanings that they attach to various things including ethnicity and race.

It becomes a more serious issue when the universities instead of working to eliminate the dominant sense of African inferiority from their students and populace, rather tend to exacerbate such feelings and thoughts. As universities, based on neoliberal thinking, and the need to follow international standards, emphasise foreign experts, foreign journals and foreign degrees, they stamp the inferiority of Africa in the minds of students who in the end would send the same message to the public. It would be similar to the colonisation and immediate post independent period when African intellectuals have insisted Western forms of education as the best (Fanon, 2004). The eagerness to benchmark, I argue, rather serves as a gateway to emphasise and perpetuate negative thoughts about Africa to their own students and the populace at large.

The need for a visionary, resilient and determined leadership

Horsthemke quoting MacGregor (1996) said higher education should promote Africanisation by effecting changes in the composition of students; the administrator bodies; the syllabus and its content; the curricula; and the criteria that determine what excellent research is' (2004: 573-574). Louw (2009), arguing differently, believes 'it is the task of everyone in the academic world to change higher education by changing what they can in their everyday involvement in educating people. I would argue that what is required is a visionary leader: a leader who is interested, and who sees the potential of indigenous knowledge systems in the international stage, a leader who acknowledges that Africa is part of the globe, and that internationalisation and globalisation cannot be complete without Africa; a leader who believes that Africa can really make an impact in an era of intense interest in knowledge generation and knowledge application. There is a need for a new breed of leadership in higher education who will have confidence in Africa and Africa related issues.

Concerning external demands, in some cases, it is not everything that is imposed. This could be seen in ways in which some administrators and academics perceive Africanisation; it should not be perceived as a means of excluding Africa from the rest of the world, but to address the mis/representations and create a pride and confidence about Africa (Crossman 2004; Makgoba, 1997). Kunnie observes that “all critical and transformative educators in the country need to embrace an indigenous African world view and root the nation’s educational paradigms in an indigenous sociocultural epistemological framework” (2000: 159). Much as we want to be homogenous, it is important to note, as maintained by Andy Hunt that ‘only dead fish go with the flow’ (2008:5). We should be able to resist the unpleasant and be able to generate new knowledge systems.

Economic implications

Harris (2008), looking at the UK context argued that current political and educational discourses privilege the economic over the cultural. I argue, in the context of Ghana, considering the precarious economic conditions confronting the universities, the emphasis should be both economic and cultural. They should be given equal attention. It would be difficult, in Ghana, to emphasise the cultural without emphasising the economic. As indicated earlier, the ever decreasing government subvention makes it imperative for the universities to rely on internally generated funding to keep the universities going.

Without internally generated funding, most of which could be derived from fees of international students, the poor conditions of universities in Ghana, I argue, would be made worse. This would even make it more difficult for the universities to attract international students and academics, which will pave the way for intercultural exchange. In effect it would be difficult for universities in Ghana to have meaningful internationalisation with

the needed financial backing. Internationalisation, as indicated before, is driven by funding (OCED, 2012).

In relation to IKS, I argue that the limited emphasis of IKS has got more to do with fears: fears of the universities losing their sense of financial dependency, and fears of limited resources to promote indigenous related ideas. As I argued earlier, the emphasis on internationalisation appears to serve as a ‘big’ excuse for Ghanaian academics to rely on the West. The ‘refrain’ which kept popping up in all the universities is, ‘the wheel is already turning and we do not need to reinvent the wheel’, as if knowledge is static. I argue that this refrain has more to do with funding than a psychological dependence.

The ability of the universities to address some of their economic challenges would enhance their confidence and enable them to contribute more meaningfully to the internationalisation process. Though much of the discourse on effects of colonisation has emphasised the psychological aspect (Labakeng, *et.al.*, 2006), I argue, in support of Fanon (2008), that presently the effects are more related to economic aspects, at least to many intellectuals in Ghana. Fanon has attested that inferiority of many ex-colonies can be ascribed to a double process: firstly, economic, and secondly ‘internalization or rather epidermalization of this inferiority (2008: xv). I argue that whilst culturally, the effects of colonisation still impact on the universities and their policies, the inability of the universities to contribute meaningfully is more of an economic than a psychological impact.

Theoretically, the post-colonial theories should emphasise more on the economic implications of colonialism. With economic emancipation, the psychological and the cultural would be boosted. The limited funding prevents the universities from identifying and developing their strength. If the universities had enough funding, they could be doing better in terms of indigenous knowledge systems, they could position themselves better in

the international arena, and they will be able to develop the confidence needed. As an academic at the University of Mawuta stated, ‘you do not challenge someone’s ideas while you go to him, cap in hand, borrowing’.

However, as the universities strive to address their economic challenges, there is also the need for the universities to avoid policies that would fuel inequalities in the country, and this includes policies regarding access and participation in the institutions and payment of fees. As emphasised by Bhabha, ‘Globalisation...must always begin at home’ (2009: xv). As the global inequalities, and the hegemony of the West are discussed, there is also the need for the universities to avoid such hegemonies at home (in Ghana).

In this context, the request for Ghanaian students to pay full fees, I would say is problematic. With the ever dwindling government subventions, internally generated funding is imperative if the universities are to survive. On the other hand, asking students to pay all the cost will create further inequalities and marginalization of the poor. In spite of the latter concern, I would say it will still be more appropriate for the universities to increase fees to a higher percentage but not to ask students to pay full fees.

On a finishing note I argue that utilising postcolonial theory as the conceptual framework for this study, enabled me to analyse the data through a critical and a colonial lens. By using this theory I have been able to challenge and argue how dominant discourses and practices of internationalisation in the institutions tend to perpetuate colonial legacies and ideologies. I have also been able to indicate how discourses of internationalisation tend to be marginalising, exclusionary and discriminatory instead of enhancing diversity, inclusion and equality in the specific context of Ghana.

Internationalisation, as I have indicated, is a complex and problematic concept which involves a whole range of ideas including the national, the local, the international, and influences of globalisation and Western neoliberalism and superiority.

I have argued the need of the universities to engage in critical debate of internationalisation and to consider new ways of thinking that would greatly enrich the educational, international and intercultural experiences of both students and staff.

I argue, however, that the terminology ‘postcolonial’ similar to terminologies like, ‘Third World’ and ‘Developing’ tend to put focus on the negativities affecting ex-colonial countries and increase the polarisation which Bhabha cautions against. As indicated above, with the focus on ‘colonialism’, there is a danger of the universities being paralysed by the colonial past. I suggest the need for a name that does not have the tag ‘colonial’: a name that will gradually make future generations focus mainly on the possibilities.

Limitations and recommendations for further studies

Similar to other studies on internationalisation in Ghana (e.g. Effah and Senadza 2008), this study was confined to its public universities. According to Effah and Senadza (2008), private universities in Ghana are more recent and so they may not emphasise heavily on internationalisation. Contrarily, I argue that with the recent surge in private universities in Ghana (Varghese 2004, Effah and Senadza, 2008), many of the universities are enrolling high numbers of international students. The All Nations University College (ANUC), one of the private universities in Ghana, describes itself on its website as a ‘vibrant International Community with Faculty, staff, and students from around the world’. Many of the private universities have established international offices. It would be insightful to have further studies to compare internationalisation processes in these institutions and the public universities.

Again, data on experiences of international students was limited as only a small number of international students were interviewed. Many studies on higher education have been silent on the experiences of international students (e.g. Effah and Senadza, 2008;

Manu *et. al.*, 2007). However, as Effah and Senadza (2008) indicate the presence of international students will continue to rise in the universities. This expectation according to them is due to favourable conditions including relative good infrastructure and political stability. I recommend a need for an in-depth study on the expectations, experiences and challenges of international students in the universities of Ghana. In-depth studies into international students' experiences would be very informative in enhancing the internationalisation process nationally and institutionally.

Although knowledge is a contested issue, I argue that with the peculiar marginalised condition of African knowledge systems, it would be helpful if African academics could achieve consensus about the role of IKS in Ghanaian universities. As Bhabha (2004) has noted, this would contribute to finding a more constructive response to the harmful colonial legacies. I recommend in agreement with Sawyerr (2004) for studies into the values, assumptions, benefits and underlying philosophies of IKS. Findings should then be subjected to debates and discussions so that agreed aspects of IKS will be emphasised in the curriculum. There should also be researches uncovering other forms of thinking that emerge from Africa. Such research should delve into perspectives of academics, chiefs, religious leaders and other stakeholders of what they perceive as desirable indigenous values and knowledge systems which should be pursued in the universities.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: DEMOGRAPHIC BACKGROUND OF RESPONDENTS (Position, Qualification and Gender)

University of Mawuta

	Position	Qualification	Gender
1.	Vice Chancellor	PhD/Professor	Male
2.	Dean 1	PhD/Professor	Male
3.	Academic Director	Masters Degree	Male
4.	Head of Department 1	PhD	Female
5.	Head of Department 2	PhD	Male
6.	Academic 1	PhD	Male
7.	Academic 2	PhD/Professor	Male
8.	Academic 3	PhD/Professor	Male
9.	Quality Assurance	Masters Degree	Male
10.	Former Director Quality Assurance	PhD/Professor	Male
11.	International office	Masters Degree	Male

University of Ndebang

	Position	Qualification	Gender
1.	Former Vice Chancellor	PhD/Professor	Male
2.	Academic/Administrator (quality Assurance)	PhD/Professor	Male
3.	Academic/Director (Ethics Board)	PhD/Professor	Male
4.	Assistant Registrar (International office)	Masters	Female
5.	Dean 1	PhD/Professor	Male
6.	Dean 2	PhD/Professor	Male
7.	Dean 3	PhD/Professor	Male
8.	Head of Department 1	PhD	Male
9.	Head of Department 2	PhD	Male
10.	Head of Department 3	PhD	Male
11	Academic 1	Masters Degree	Male
12	Academic 2	Masters Degree	Male
13	Academic 3	PhD	Male

University of Ojo

	Position	Qualification	Gender
1.	Pro Vice Chancellor	PhD/Professor	Male
2.	Dean 1	PhD/Professor	Male
3.	Dean 2	PhD/Professor	Male
4.	Dean 3	PhD	Male
5.	Head of Department 1	Masters Degree	Male
5.	Head of Department 2	-	-
7.	Head of Department 3	PhD	Male
8	Registrar	PhD	Male
9.	Academic 1	PhD	Male
10	Academic 2	PhD	Male
11	Academic 3	Masters Degree	Male
12	Director/International office	PhD/Professor	Female

Supervisory Bodies

	Position	Qualification	Country of postgraduate study	Gender
1.	Administrator	PhD	Netherlands	Male
2.	Administrator	-		Male

APPENDIX B:

SAMPLE OF LETTER OF REQUEST TO THE INSTITUTIONS

Roehampton
University 
London

▪
▪
▪ *ETHICS BOARD*

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM PRO FORMA

Vice Chancellors

Title of Research Project: A critical look at the tensions generated by local and external needs on the curriculum development of public universities in Ghana

Brief Description of Research Project:

This study seeks to explore tensions generated by local and external needs on the curriculum development of public universities in Ghana I will be very grateful if you could participate to give your perceptions and understandings about these issues.

Agreeing to participate will involve an interview session with you to know your perceptions and understandings about the mission and goals of the University, the various demands on the university in the context of international, national and local demands, responses of the university to these demands and the extent to which the curriculum development is influenced by international, national and local agendas. I will also be happy to hear of any other information you may think relevant to the study. The interview will take about 1 to 1½ hours.

All interviews will be recorded on audio tapes, and the information gathered will be used in writing my thesis, and for the purpose of publication that may arise from the research. The identity of participants will be protected and pseudonyms used in the publications. If, however, any of the participants' prefer to be called by their real names, and/or wish what they say to be made public, this could be arranged. The information participants provide will be kept securely so that no other person has access to it. When I complete this work I will keep the information for ten years.

Providing me access to relevant policy documents, and records of services and meetings related to the universities will be appreciated. These activities will take place over a period of 3 months.

Please note that participation in the study is voluntary. This means that you can choose not to take part. You may also withdraw from the study whenever you want to without giving any reasons. However, by participating you may find the study useful in enhancing policy developments and relevance of the University to the national and international context of developments.

Please complete the form below if you are happy to participate.

Thank you.

Gifty Oforiwaa Gyamera
School of Education,
Roehampton University, Roehampton Lane, London. SW15 5PJ

email: ggyoforiwaa@yahoo.com Mobile +44(0)75386760, +2233(0)2443778

Consent Statement:

I agree to take part in this research. I am aware that this is a voluntary study and I am free to withdraw at any point by contacting the researcher at the above address. I understand that the information I provide will be treated in confidence by the investigator and that my identity will be protected in the publication of any findings.

Name

Signature

Date

Please note: if you have a concern about any aspect of your participation or any other queries please raise this with the investigator. However if you would like to contact an independent party please contact the Head of Department/ Director of Studies. You are encouraged to keep this copy for future reference.

Professor Jane Burke

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Appendix C: PUBLIC UNIVERSITIES IN GHANA

	Institution	Place	Region
1.	University of Ghana	Accra	Greater Accra
2.	University of Science and Technology	Kumasi	Ashanti
3.	University of Cape Coast	Cape Coast	Central
4.	University of Education	Winneba/Kumasi/Ejumako/Mampong	Central/Ashanti/Central/Ashanti
5.	University of Mines and Technology	Tarkwa	Western
6.	University of Development Studies	Tamale/Wa/Bolgatanga	Northern/ Upper East/ Upper West
7.	University of Energy and Natural Resources	Sunyani	Brong Ahafo
8.	University of Health and Allied Sciences	Ho	Volta
9	University of Professional Studies	Accra	Greater Accra

APPENDIX D: SAMPLE OF FEES PAID BY INTERNATIONAL, REGULAR LOCAL STUDENTS, AND FEE PAYING LOCAL STUDENTS

Undergraduate Fees of Ghanaian Universities for Selected Courses and Student Categories

	International Students	Regular Local Students		Fee Paying Local Students	
	US\$	Ghc	US\$ Equivalent	Ghc	US\$ Equivalent
<u>University of Mawuta 2011/12 Fees</u>					
Applied Science	7,056	625	312.5	3,159	1,579.5
Science/Agriculture	4,246	544	272	2,336	1,168
Humanities	3,639	450	225	1,798	899
<u>University of Ndebang 2013/14 Fees</u>					
Social Science (including Economics)	4,487	742	371	1,517	758.5
Nursing	5,251	1,037	518.5	1,812	906
Humanities (including Education)	4,619	837	418.5	1,612	806
Agriculture	5,251	827	413.5	1,602	801
Physical Science	5,251	857	428.5	1,632	816
African Studies	4,487	672	336	1,507	753.5
<u>University of Ojo 2013/14 Fees</u>					
Medicine	9,500	1,915	957.5	5,500	2,750
Nursing	3,500	1,139	569.5	3,500	1,750

Agric Science	3,500	943	471.5	3,500	1,750
Faculty of Integrated Dev. Studies	3,500	928	464	3,500	1,750

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